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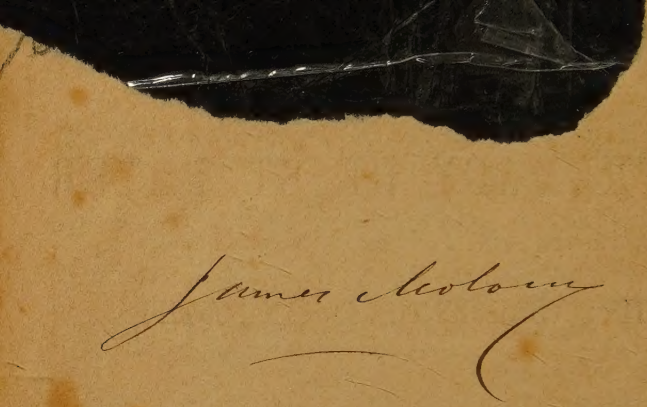

THE

SUPREMACY OF ST PETER,

AND

HIS SUCCESSORS THE ROMAN PONTIFFS.

WITH SOME STRICTURES ON

"A DISCOURSE ON PAPAL INFALLIBILITY,"

By ROBERT LEE, D.D.,

MINISTER OF THE OLD GREYFRIARS, AND PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH:

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF

Lectures

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PREFACE.

HAD the writer proposed to himself simply a Treatise on the important subject which he has ventured to handle, much of what is found in the following pages would necessarily have been excluded. He had in view, however, not only to vindicate the Supremacy of the Apostolic See, but also to expose the sophistry of the "Discourse on Papal Infallibility;" and therefore has he been led into many incidental, but he hopes not irrelevant, observations. How far he has succeeded, it is for others to judge. Of this, however, he feels satisfied, that at a time when the Press is literally teeming with anti-Catholic publications, any apology, however slender, for the ancient faith of Christendom, will be heartily welcomed by the children of Holy Church. In the Lectures delivered—the substance of which is here

Acc 1116.

given—he made it his study to press home on his separated brethren the absolute necessity of recognising the Roman Pontiff as the one ecumenical Primate of Christ's Church, to whom obedience *in spirituals* is most justly due, and ought certainly to be rendered; for unless the *Head* is acknowledged, there never can be unity among the *members*. It was well observed by Grotius, that "without the primacy of the Pope, controversy becomes endless;" and Leibnitz, in his letter to the Landgrave of Hesse-Rheinfels, wrote these remarkable words:—"I have given it, in express terms, as my opinion, that if we could remedy the ills which afflict the Church by recognising the Primacy of the Pope, we *should be wrong not to do it*."

Now, if these distinguished men, many years ago, freely admitted that the only prospect for religious peace was to rally round the chair of Peter at Rome, how much more emphatically would they *now* write, seeing that Protestantism is daily increasing, not in *numerical* strength, but rather, so to speak, in *numerical* division. The Supremacy of the Holy Roman See, on the other hand, is the first link in that glorious chain of unity which girds the entire globe, and which binds together the members of the mystical body of Christ in the *profession* of the same faith, in the *participation* of the same sacraments, and in the *recognition* of the same visible Head. This unity of the Church, being one of her characteristic notes, is so essentially con-

centred in the *See of Peter*, that the ancient Christian writers have with one accord declared,

"Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia."

St John's Catholic Church,
Perth,
Feast of St Gregory VII. Pope, Confessor.
May, 1852.

CONTENTS.

PRELIMINARIES, . . . 9

I. THE SUPREMACY PROMISED, . . 20

II. THE SUPREMACY INSTITUTED, . 55

III. THE SUPREMACY EXERCISED, . . 82

IV. THE SUPREMACY PERPETUATED, . 110

THE SUPREMACY OF ST PETER, &c.

I COME this evening to treat a vitally important subject — a subject which has of late engrossed much public attention — I come to speak of the Supremacy of the Pope! The very word is electric—it awakens a world of thought. Yet how varied and how conflicting the ideas which are associated with that ever-venerable name! In Great Britain, where there is such a multitude of contradictory creeds—all rejoicing in the privilege of mutual recrimination, yet all hushing up their differences for the while, to make common cause against the ancient Church—the Pope is viewed, by the eyes of fanaticism, as "*the Man of Sin —the Son of Perdition—the very Antichrist—the little horn*" mentioned by the prophet Daniel—in a word, as the incarnation of all that is wicked! By the children of Holy Church, however, the Sovereign Pontiff is looked up to with affectionate devotedness, as Christ's representative and vicegerent upon earth — as the Primate of Christendom — as the common Father of all the faithful — as the heavenly appointed guardian of the souls of men — as, under God, the universal Shepherd of the sheepfold of Christ.

Sundry reasons have induced me to select this subject for a series of Lectures: one of which is, the publication of "A Discourse on Papal Infallibility," by the Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh. Now, before pronouncing on the merits of this rather curious lucubration, it will be

desirable to place Catholic doctrine in its proper point of view.

We Catholics, then, believe that a Church was instituted by Jesus Christ to be the sole depositary of his religion, and to transmit that religion inviolate to the remotest posterity. We believe that this Church is a perfectly organized body, acting in a visible manner, and through visible agencies,—having a regular systematic spiritual government—a government which is *judicial*, with the power of settling all matters in dispute—a government which is *legislative*, with the power of framing such laws as may meet the exigencies of the times—and a government which is *executive*, with the power of enforcing its decrees, under the severest spiritual censures. We believe that this Church, forming the mystical body of Christ upon earth, is distributed into two grand departments—the pastors teaching, and the people taught—the priests, the Lord's anointed, who are the dispensers of the mysteries of God, and the faithful, to whom those sacred ordinances are dispensed. We moreover believe, that as the Church is composed of *men*, and *not* of *angels*, it necessarily presents a *visible body;* and being a visible body, it must have a visible head. The mystical *body* of Christ, which is his Church, is *one;* therefore the *Head* must be *one:* but the *body* is *visible*, therefore the *Head* must be *visible* also. Now it has ever been the belief of Catholics that St Peter was appointed by Christ Jesus as the visible head of his Church, and that the successors of St Peter have inherited the self-same rights with which he, in the first instance, had been invested. For let it be remembered that the privileges of the pastors of the Church were not mere personal gifts, but rather attached to the office of the ministry, and as being essentially connected with that office must they of necessity descend. St Peter was the head of the Church, and was the first Bishop of Rome; therefore the Roman

Pontiffs are indisputably his successors. St Peter had a primacy of order or rank among the apostles, and likewise a supremacy of power and of jurisdiction over the universal Church: therefore, by right of succession, the Roman Pontiffs are possessed of identically the same heaven-born prerogatives. This is my position—this I proceed to demonstrate.

PRELIMINARIES.

Before entering on the line of argument which I mean to pursue, permit me some preliminary remarks. In previous Lectures I have proved that St Peter was at Rome, and was the first Bishop of Rome. When, then, we speak of the supremacy of the Pope, we understand that, being Bishop of Rome, he is the lawful successor of St Peter, and invested with the plenitude of power and jurisdiction over the entire Church. This power—this jurisdiction, is completely spiritual, and does not interfere in the slightest degree with that temporal allegiance which is due to the Sovereign under whose government, for the time being, we may live. The supremacy of the Pope is therefore of a purely spiritual complexion, and is by no means necessarily connected with any temporal sway. Yet from the time of Pepin, in the eighth century, the Popes have held dominion over the Roman States. This temporal sovereignty is not, however, a necessary adjunct to the papal character, for the supremacy of St Peter's successors over the whole Church was the same before it was acquired, as it would be the same, should it happen to be lost. So that the Supreme Pontiff would be as much the Head of the Church, whether, like so many of his predecessors, he might fly for refuge to the Catacombs, or come forth to be martyred in the Forum, or be taken a prisoner by the enemy, or be driven into banishment;

and the echo of his paternal voice, from the deepest dungeon or the remotest region under heaven, would be borne on the wings of the wind to the extremities of the globe, and would be as eagerly heard, and as willingly obeyed, by 250 millions of Catholics scattered throughout the world, as when from his throne in the Vatican, or Quirinal Palace, he sends forth his sacred rescripts, stamped with the seal of the Fisherman, to confound the undermining diplomatists of the day, and to teach men "truth, and justice, and judgment," and to comfort his suffering children with the assurance, that for the sake of the "lambs and the sheep" committed to his care, he is ever ready "to spend and be spent." Oh! well may the common Father of the faithful say, in the language of the apostle of the Gentiles, "But I most gladly will spend and be spent myself for your sakes." 2 Cor. xii. 15.

With regard to the civil power of the Popes, this much we distinctly avow, that no sovereign in Europe has a better right to his throne, than have the Supreme Pontiffs to the States of the Church. Assuredly they are not to be despoiled of their lawfully acquired possessions, because a rebellious horde of godless miscreants, under the patronage of the insidious foes of Catholicism, have for years back been concocting their nefarious schemes for the subjugation, or rather the overthrow of that sacred Institute, which was upreared and is upheld by the right arm of God. The Catholic powers of Europe—aye, and the Protestant powers likewise—know and feel that the Head of the ancient Church of Christendom, with his immense preponderating moral weight, must, from the *circumstances of the times, and the balanced power of the nations*, be in a perfectly independent position. They freely acknowledge that the interests of their respective governments demand that the Pope ought by no manner of means to be tributary to any temporal potentate, lest his vast moral

influence should be thrown into the scale of that particular power, with which he was more immediately connected. Truth to say, however, the interests of humanity, as well as of religion, imperatively require that the Popes should not be hampered, even in temporal means, but that they should be possessed of resources, in some measure proportioned to the demands made upon them, and to the multifarious duties of which they have to acquit themselves. They are—who can deny it?—at the head of the great Christian commonwealth; and the constitution of society requires that, even in a *temporal* view, they should be equal to their supereminent position. Hence they are sovereigns in a twofold capacity; and that dual sovereignty they have ever used for the welfare of mankind, since they have always stood in the van of every thing great and good — since they have been the constant patrons of literature—the protectors of the arts and sciences—the pioneers and promoters of civilization—as well as the grand bulwarks of Christianity. For we fearlessly ask, what would have been the state of society, from the commencement of the Christian era down to the present period, if not for the Roman Pontiffs? Who Christianized the globe? Who diffused the light of Catholic truth among the nations "in darkness and in the shadow of death?" Who sent single-hearted missionaries to the *New* world—priests with crucifix in hand and the blessing of heaven on their heads, who wended their way through the forests and over the rocky mountains of America, and civilized the red Indian, and taught the wandering tribes to kneel down and adore the living and true God? Who protected the poor against the rich, and made the sanctuary an asylum for the unfortunate? Who first raised their voices against slavery, and declared that man was never made to become the property of man? Who stirred up the enthusiasm of the middle ages, and awoke the chivalry of Europe to

embark in those glorious crusades which, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were set on foot for the rescue of the Holy Land? Who founded our universities in England and in Scotland, and in other countries, and made literature flourish before Protestantism existed—and printed and published thousands of copies of the sacred Scriptures before the Reformers were heard of? Who threw the mantle of patronage over the artists, and made the painter give life to the canvass, and the sculptor to produce statuary that all but spoke, and the architect to rear those magnificent cathedrals which are at once the glory and the boast of every Catholic land? Yes, ecclesiastical history tells us that the Roman Pontiffs did all this, and much more than this. The *world* knows it, and, however reluctant, the *world* is forced to admit it: and every Protestant state, as well as Catholic, is obliged to defer to the conventional etiquette which obtains, in regard to the oldest and most dignified court upon earth—the court of Rome; for the papal nuncio takes precedence of every other ambassador at all Christian courts. We may then venture to assert, while disclaiming all pretensions to prophecy, that, no matter what may be the fate of other dynasties, the Sovereign Pontiffs shall *remain*, as long as society *remains*, the enlightened and benignant rulers of the Roman States.

It may be observed, while touching this subject, that the court of St James's demurs at receiving an accredited ecclesiastic from the Vatican. Now it must be contended, despite of all that has been said and written on the subject of diplomatic relations, that *to be represented by any other*, would certainly not be in keeping with the sacred character of the Papal court. The court of Rome is decidedly more *ecclesiastical* than *civil*. Its civil power is comparatively limited; but its spiritual, its moral power, stands without

a rival in the world. The exercise of that power has ever made itself felt, and, as we have seen, has lately shaken to its very centre the proudest nation under heaven—instance Great Britain, on the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarcy in England. After all, it matters but little to Rome whether a British ambassador is admitted to the Vatican, or a Papal nuncio is received at St James's. It shews, however, the *temper of the times*, and the *profound Christianity of our rulers*, when representatives can be exchanged with the *Grand Turk*, but not with the common Father of Christendom!

Moreover, let us remark, in regard to the subject under consideration, that our chief difficulty lies, not in mustering, but in condensing the multiplied arguments which have been accumulated by the master minds who have written upon this and other similar theological questions. Who that is acquainted with the noble dissertations of Suarez, Bellarmine, Hosius, Eckius, Melchior Cano, Patavius, Maldonatus, not to speak of the very learned works of two living most distinguished Roman professors, Perrone and Passaglia, and a host of other writers of the present and preceding ages—but must pay deference to gigantic genius, and to the most profound and extensive erudition? Now, all these eminent men, and so many others that we might name, have devoted their time and their talents to illustrate and to sustain the doctrines of the ancient Church, and how successfully they have done so, let the suffrages of Christendom bear witness. Contrast with those transcendent and inimitable efforts the puny and ephemeral writings of so-called Protestant divines, and they sink into utter insignificance. But when one compares with those splendid works the doughty lucubration, for example, "on Papal Infallibility!" will not a smile be provoked at the coolness of the Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of

Edinburgh, when with *the very gift of assurance*, he puts the extraordinary questions: "Why Popery, a thousand times confuted, still exists, and even spreads, and why the success of Protestantism, in the actual world, has not been at all commensurate with its achievements in the field of controversy?"

Would the learned Professor, then, in some subsequent publication, have the goodness to enlighten his fellow-citizens by stating distinctly *when*, *where*, and *by whom* Popery was confuted: and likewise by enumerating the "achievements of Protestantism in the field of controversy?" We promise him that *such a curiosity in polemics* would not pass unanswered. Really it is a tax on Christian forbearance to hear a Presbyterian parson talk of the "thousand confutations of Popery," as he has the politeness to designate *that* venerable religion, which was the religion of Scotland for 1000 years before the Kirk of Calvin and Knox was *cradled*, and which still is the *unconquered* and *unconquerable* religion of Christendom.

As to "the achievements of Protestantism in the field of controversy," pray where shall we find them? What country in the world—*quæ regio in terris*—points to the trophies of Protestant theological warfare? If uncharitable railing, and slanderous imputations, and reckless assertions from the pulpit and press be achievements, then do we Catholics yield the palm at once to Protestantism. But if candour and charity and truth be the weapons which alone are to be admitted into the "field of controversy," then Protestantism, and her disorganised squadrons must forthwith sound a retreat. Talk of achievements, indeed! Why, the only achievements on record just now are some starving children and decrepid old creatures who are *kidnapped by certain gentlemen in black*, and after the hungry appetite has been appeased, and a rag has covered the denuded limbs, they are forthwith christened Protestants, and duly gazetted by the

organs of the Bible Society, as so many accessions to the twin churches as *by law established.* What a mockery of religion is all this! Conversions manufactured by money or meal are a downright imposition—*hypocrites* can thus be made: *sincere Christians* never! Yet these are the only conversions of which Protestantism can boast. Contrast with these the countless conversions to Catholicism which day after day are occurring, and then take the scales, and weigh on which side the preponderance will be found. Truly a marvellous reaction in favour of the old religion, despite of all odds, is going on—the tide of conversion is still fast flowing to Rome, and who can say when it is to stop! Oh, may another and another wave, touched by the breath of Heaven, urge on every poor mariner, who is drifting on the sea of private opinion, to *near* and *board* the "boat of Peter—the ark of God," for that is the only vessel that can weather every storm—the only ship that can pilot him into the harbour of security! If separatists still cling to the tiny raft of private judgment—if still they remain on those *religious wrecks,* which are the *Churches of Scotland and of England, as by law established,* they are every moment in danger of being dashed against the wild cliffs of rationalism, or swallowed up in the dismal ocean of infidelity!

Yes—deny it who will, the fundamental principles of both *Churches* are decidedly infidel in their tendency: they are both based on the system of *private judgment.* Private judgment, strictly speaking, ought to reject in religion whatever it cannot understand: but the mysteries of revelation, being above private judgment, cannot be understood; therefore private judgment ought to reject them. Therefore the fundamental principles of the *reformed* creeds are decidedly infidel in their tendency. Protestantism, as a system, is *dead* to all intents and purposes: it is more, it has exhibited unmistakeable signs of *putrefac-*

tion. It has degenerated into sheer Rationalism in Germany, and Rationalism will ere long be the order of the day in Great Britain, unless God's providence should interpose to save our common country, by a *second* conversion to the ancient Faith!

The philosophic eye of Babington Macaulay has long since perceived that Protestantism is stationary, if not rather retrogressive. Comparing the progress of the two antagonistic systems, the Catholic and the Protestant, he says—"We see that, during these two hundred and fifty years, Protestantism has made no conquests worth speaking of. Nay, we believe that, as far as there has been a change, that change has been in favour of the Church of Rome." Thus does the *Rhetorical* Historian candidly avow his sentiments, and in so speaking, does he re-echo the opinions of two other Protestant writers of celebrity—Hallam in his History of Literature, and Ranke in his History of the Popes.

Truth to say, however, and it is a *hard* saying, there is no religion, and there never was any religion, properly so called, in mere Protestantism. It is a *negative* system of Christianity—a system which may hold for gospel truth to-day, what it may reject as the most arrant falsehood to-morrow. The Protestant Bishop Llyod says, "As to the general term *Protestant*, I am not at all satisfied with it, and I have both reason and experience to warrant me in this dislike." Refor. Cat. Another Protestant Bishop, Mant, in his "Charge" of 1836, writes,—

"Now the terms 'Protestant' and 'Protestantism,' by which numerous and important classes of professors of the gospel are denominated, convey, however, a very indefinite description of those who are comprised under the denomination. '*Protestant' is in fact a negative, rather than a positive term:* it describes rather what the persons so denominated deny, than what

they admit; it represents their disallowance of certain doctrines and practices which *they think* to be improperly ingrafted on a belief of the Christian verity, *but it does not set forth* the doctrines and practices which they hold, as constituents and vehicles of the truth. In short, it represents them as protesting against certain corruptions and errors, which (*they think*) characterise the Church of Rome: *but it does not convey an idea of the particular religious sentiments respectively*, which each class of Protestants maintains, as characterising itself."

For the first 1500 years of the Christian era, *no Protestant Church was known in the world.* Luther's dispute about indulgences began on the vigil of All Saints, 1517: and in the eighth year of the reign of Henry VIII. He was excommunicated by Leo X. in June 1520; and in 1529 the adherents of Luther first assumed the designation *Protestant.* Thus, then, at the commencement of the so-called *Reformation*, Protestantism was a deliberate protest on the *part of private judgment* against the ancient church—against the power namely, and the mysteries of God. Such it has continued, more or less, according to the constitution of men's minds. No wonder then, as a system, it should *die the death.* The only marvel is, that God should have endured it so long.

If, however, there is no genuine religion among those separated from the Church, there is indubitably a superabundance of *Fanaticism.* There is what there was in Saul before his conversion, a *morbid* feeling that he was doing the work of God in persecuting the Christians; and this *sanctimonious* feeling is largely diffused throughout the land, when we see the high and the low, the rich and the poor, re-echoing the discordant chorus, which is periodically raised by so-called *Reverend* Gentlemen against Pope and Popery?

In summing up these preliminary remarks, which

have branched out to an unexpected extent, there is still an additional observation, which we are here desirous to make. Our adversaries, and among others the Professor of Biblical criticism, invariably confound two things, in themselves distinctly different. They speak of the *infallibility* as they speak of the *Supremacy* of the Pope. Now the supremacy of the Pope is an article of Catholic faith, but not so his *infallibility;* this latter is what is called a *school* opinion, or, in other words, an open question. We believe that the Church—the Pope in union with the Episcopal body—is infallible; it is not of faith, to believe in the personal *infallibility* of the Supreme Pontiff, no more than in his personal *impeccability.* The courtier, but eloquent Bishop Bossuet and other Gallicans, denied the proposition that the Pope is, under any circumstances, personally infallible. Now, if that proposition were of faith, it could not *salva conscientiâ* be denied. Yet Bossuet's orthodoxy was undoubted;—no one defended more energetically the supremacy of the Pope—no one tore the Reformation more dexterously to shreds than the writer of the "History of the Variations"—no one insisted with greater clearness or cogency of argument on the necessity of being in communion with the holy Roman See than the Eagle of Meaux. Yet Bossuet was opposed to what Dr Lee calls "Papal Infallibility." We speak thus distinctly, that our adversaries may see how it is quite allowable for Catholics to hold different opinions, on those points, which are not declared by the Church as articles of faith. For ourselves, we maintain, what we are ready to demonstrate as a fact, that no Roman pontiff ever propounded, *ex cathedrâ*, heterodox doctrines regarding faith or morals.

Hence, at the very outset of his "Discourse on Papal Infallibility," the reverend gentleman confounds two things, in themselves perfectly distinct—the Supremacy, namely, and Infallibility. He writes—"The supre-

macy and infallibility of the Pope may be said to be the hinges on which the whole body of modern Popery turns." Thus does he *broadly assert, what is not true*, that the infallibility is equally a dogma of Catholic faith, as the supremacy of the Pope.

It must surely be matter of surprise that the Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh should, in the first page of his essay, fall into so egregious a blunder. If he had consulted any of our standard Catholic works, he would have at once seen how distinctly the line of demarcation is drawn between the *infallibility* and the *supremacy* of the Pope. We maintain the *supremacy of the Pope*—we maintain the *infallibility of the Church*. It is not then too much to say, that the Professor should have made himself acquainted with the question at issue, before venturing to preach and publish "a Discourse on Papal Infallibility!"

In speaking of the hallucinations of presbyterian parsons, and of their crass ignorance of Catholicism, we cease to be astonished at the *extravaganza*, in which more especially the zealots of the Free Kirk wantonly indulge when, at their *Presbyteries*, *Synods*, and *General Assemblies*, they propose periodically their preposterous "Overtures anent Popery." Yet have they admitted, through their very *Coryphæus*, that our doctrines were *unknown* to them,—Dr Candlish himself having publicly declared that he had never studied "the Popish controversy." Still, not knowing in *reality what it is*, they go on protesting against our "pure and undefiled religion!" Now what can be the meaning of the *fantastic tricks* which these restless spirits are constantly playing in matters of religion, except to pander to the fanaticism of their blind, but doubtless in many cases, well-intentioned followers, and thereby, if possible, to keep afloat the sinking sustentation fund, and other

ingenious devices, very appropriately called by themselves "*Schemes!*"

But these "*Schemes*" shall end, and the Free Kirk shall, ere long, come to an end, and all our modern Protestant sects shall pass, as the ancient heretical and schismatical sectaries have passed away, and England and Scotland, which in an evil hour had apostatized, may eventually be regained to the ancient faith—the "faith our fathers held of God." Then there will be great jubilee in heaven, and on the earth, that the light of Catholic truth hath shed its benignant rays once more over our common country, and that the sheep which had been wandering in the mazes of error, have by the kind providence of God, and the crook of the universal Shepherd, been conducted back into the fold of Christ.

I. THE SUPREMACY PROMISED.

Having made, then, the necessary preliminary remarks to render the treatment of our subject as simple as possible, we proceed forthwith to a distinct enunciation of the question at issue. We shall first give the authorized statement of our doctrine, and then examine the scriptural grounds on which it is sustained.

In the constitution of Pius the Sixth, issued on the 28th November 1786, we read as follows:—"That the Church was founded by Christ, on the firmness of the rock; and that, by the singular favour of Christ, Peter was selected above the rest to be, by vicarious power, the Prince of the Apostolic choir; and therefore, to receive the supreme charge and authority, to be perpetuated through his successors for all time, of feeding the whole flock, of confirming his

brethren, and of binding and loosing over the whole earth—is a *Catholic Dogma*, which having been received from the mouth of Christ, and handed down and defended by the constant teaching of the Fathers, the Universal Church has always held most inviolably, and frequently confirmed against the errors of innovators by the decrees of Sovereign Pontiff and Councils."

This is, as it were, an abstract from the decree of the General Council of Florence, convened in the year 1439. The Fathers there assembled as the representatives of the entire Church thus speak: "We define that the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold the Primacy over all the earth: and that the Roman Pontiff himself is the successor of the blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles: and that he is the true vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and the father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him in the person of Peter, was committed by our Lord Jesus Christ the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the universal Church according to the manner specified in the Acts of Ecumenical Councils, and in the Holy Canons."[1]

Anterior to this, at the Council of Lyons, A.D. 1274, the Greeks were received into the communion of the Church, having signed the confession that "the Holy Roman Church holds a supreme and full primacy and headship over the whole Catholic Church, which she truly and humbly acknowledges to have received from the Lord himself, in the person of blessed Peter, the Prince or head of the apostles, whose successor is the Roman Pontiff, with plenitude of power."[2]

In the year 680, the Sixth General Council met at Constanstinople to condemn the Monothelite heresy. It thus addressed the Roman Pontiff Agatho:—"To you, as prelate of the *first* see of the universal Church, *standing on the firm rock of faith*, we willingly leave

[1] Mansi xxxi. [2] Idem xxiv.

what should be done, having read through the *letter* of a true confession sent by your Paternal Blessedness to our most religious Emperor: which we recognize as divinely written from the supreme head of the apostles."

In 451, the great Council of Chalcedon was called to condemn the heresy of Eutyches. At the opening of the council, Paschasinus, legate of the apostolic see, said, "We have in our hands the *commands* of the most blessed and apostolic man, *Leo, Pope of the City of Rome, which is the head of all churches.*"[1]

In 431, the third council was held at Ephesus to sit in judgment on Nestorius. Bishop Acadius, addressing St Cyril of Alexandria, who presided, by special commission from the Roman Pontiff Celestine, said, "Let your Blessedness order to be read the letters of holy *Pope Celestine, Bishop of the Apostolic See*, by which you will be able to learn what *care he bears for all the churches.*"[2]

In 347, the Council of Sardica was assembled. In its synodical letter to Pope Julius, we read, "For this will seem the best, and by far the most fitting, if the Lord's bishops make reference from all the provinces to the *head, that is, the see of the Apostle Peter.*"[3]

In 325, the first General Council after the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem was convened at Nicæa. That great Council with one voice declared that "*the Roman Church had always the primacy.*"[4]

The Primitive Church for about three hundred years, in which it was assailed by almost unremitting persecution, never met in general council. During that period it was governed by the Mother Church at Rome —mater urbis et orbis—which had been founded by St Peter. Many of the records of the three first centuries, as might be expected, have perished, but far more than enough are extant to prove, to a demonstra-

[1] Mansi vi. [2] Ibid. iv. [3] Ibid. iii.
[4] Ballerini Codex Canonum.

tion, the Supremacy of the Holy Apostolic See. The facts, which are patent to every student of ecclesiastical history, of Pope St Clement writing to the Church of Corinth to heal its dissensions, during the *first century*, and during the very lifetime of St John the Evangelist—of Pope St Victor remonstrating with the Asiatic Churches in the *second* century—of Pope St Stephen censuring the African Churches in the *third*—and in the *same century* of Pope St Denys receiving an apology for his faith from Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria—all these facts, and many others that might be alleged, are proofs *positive*, *palpable*, *incontestable*, that during the *very first ages* of the Church, the *Primacy of the Holy Roman See* was admitted without the slightest demurring. The force of these facts is concentred in this, that the Roman Pontiff *alone*, by right of succession to the See of Peter, claimed to exercise unlimited jurisdiction throughout Christendom, and it is a *Fact* which disdains refutation, that the Roman Pontiff has exercised in every succeeding age, the most unlimited authority throughout the whole Christian world.

We now proceed to shew the Supremacy of St Peter himself, for in seeking to demonstrate the *Supremacy of the Roman Pontiffs*, we have first to establish the *Supremacy of their illustrious predecessor*. We shall take our text from Scripture, and prove by *scriptural arguments alone*, that Peter was invested by our Blessed Lord with a superiority over the rest of the Apostles. We have thus at once to grapple with the Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh, who has the astonishing hardihood to write, that the object of his publication was to shew "that the Papal Supremacy and Infallibility are without proof *from Scripture!*"

A reference to the pages of the New Testament will test the haphazard assertion which has been so reckless-

ly made. In the Gospel of St John i. 42, we read that the very first time Christ saw Simon, he thus addressed him, "Thou art Simon the son of Jona; thou shalt be called *Cephas*, which is interpreted *Peter*." Certainly it is a remarkable, as it is a pregnant circumstance, that Simon at the very first interview with the Redeemer, should receive *a new name;* and that that name should be *Cephas*—a Syro-Chaldaic term, meaning *rock*—corresponding to the Greek word πετρος—the Latin word *Petra*—the English word *Peter*. Assuredly this circumstance is the more significant, as Andrew the elder brother of Simon, was called first to the school of Christ, and yet no change was made in *his* name. The cause of the change of name in regard to Simon, we shall see in the sequel. Meantime let us observe that the Almighty was pleased, for his own wise purposes, to change the names of some of his faithful servants, and that for obvious reasons. Thus, in the book of Genesis xvii. 5, we find these words—

"Neither shall thy name be called any more Abram; but thou shalt be called Abraham, *because I have made thee the father of many nations.*" Abraham, in Hebrew, signifies the father of many nations.

Again, Genesis xv.

"Sarai thy wife, thou shalt not call Sarai, but Sarah," God having promised to her a son in her old age.

Again, Genesis xxxii. 28.

"Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel," from the fact that after wrestling with the angel, he was assured that he should always prevail against men.

Again, Matthew i. 21, it is said of the Saviour of mankind,

"Thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins." The Hebrew word corresponding to Jesus signifies a Saviour.

It is most remarkable, as I have said, that our blessed Lord, at the very first interview with Simon, should have changed his name; and we are naturally now led to inquire what could have induced this change. Fortunately we have not to make much research into holy writ, to find a most satisfactory reason for the conduct of the Redeemer, since the same Gospel of St Matthew clears up every obscurity that might surround the matter in question. In the 16th chapter we read, "And Jesus came into the quarters of Cesarea Philippi, and he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do *men* say that the Son of Man is? But they said, Some John the Baptist, and others Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the Prophets. Jesus saith to them; but whom do *you* say that I am?"

Attend, I pray you, to this profoundly interesting narrative. Anxious seemingly to know what men thought of his sacred person, the Redeemer put the question to his disciples, and he received from them the answers which we have just repeated. He pursues the interrogatory, and in the most pointed manner he asks: "But whom do *you* say that I am?" He wishes to have a positive declaration of their *own* belief. Now, who is to make it? Who is to be the foreman—the mouth-piece of the apostolic body? Who is to proclaim aloud the *divinity* of the incarnate God? Is it Andrew, who was first called to the school of Christ? or, Is it John, the favourite disciple?—No: it is Simon the son of Jona, the *younger*, brother of Andrew. What says he? "Simon Peter answered and said, *Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.*" Glorious is this public con-

fession of the divinity of Jesus! Whereupon, as a reward for that testimony, Christ pronounces upon *Simon* a special benediction, and declares that his knowledge was not derived from men, but that a distinct revelation had been made to him by God himself. "And Jesus answering, said to him, "Blessed *art thou* Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to *thee*, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to *thee*, that *thou art Peter*, and upon *this rock* I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." That is, I—the Christ, the Son of the living God, to whose divine nature thou hast borne testimony, say *to thee*, that *thou art Peter—rock*—and upon *this rock* I will build my Church. I am the builder, but thou art the *rock* upon which my Church shall be built. Behold here the reason why, at our first meeting, I changed thy name from Simon Bar-Jona to *Cephas—Peter—rock*.

Never did our blessed Lord speak more pointedly, or with greater emphasis. He declares Simon Peter *blessed*, because he uttered the words of inspiration, and he rewards him in consequence, by the assurance that he was to be the *rock* of his Church. He singles him out from the other apostles, "*I say to thee*:" he separates him from the rest by employing the pronoun *Thou*, and he addresses *him* individually in the most distinctive terms. Thus, then, *for the reasons already assigned*, as Abram was called *Abraham*—as Sarai was called *Sarah*—as Jacob was called *Israel*—as the Messiah was called *Jesus*—do we at once know *why* Simon was called *Peter* or *rock*. Christ, who is *wisdom* itself, chose the most solid foundation for his spiritual edifice, the Church, in contradistinction to the foolish man who rears his building upon sand. "The gates of hell shall not prevail against my Church," says the divine founder of Christianity. "The rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat

upon that house, and it fell not: for it was *founded upon a rock.*" To be built upon a rock conveys the idea of a foundation which is quite immovable: hence our blessed Lord, to accommodate himself to our notion of things, speaks of the impregnable character of his Church, by pointing to the solidity of its foundation.

Popular prejudice has long been in the habit of maintaining that the *only rock* signified by the words rehearsed is *Christ*, or the *profession of faith* made by Peter. But this gratuitous assumption cannot stand the test of criticism.

In the first place, it has been proved by the most eminent scripturists that Christ spoke not in Latin, nor in Greek, but in Hebrew, or rather the dialect of Hebrew, the Syro-Chaldaic, then the prevailing tongue in Judea. Kepha is the term which in that language means a *rock*, and doubtless was the very word employed when the Redeemer said "upon this rock I will build my church." Kephas—s is the Greek termination—or Cephas, was the name given by Christ to Simon, which in Greek is rendered πετρος, *Peter*. *Peter*, πετρος, and *Kephas*, are the same name—the one English, the other Greek, the last Syro-Chaldaic. "Jesus looking upon him, said, Thou art Simon, the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted *Peter*;" John, i. 42. It is obvious, then, that Christ must have accosted Peter in these words: "Thou art Kepha—rock—and upon this Kepha—rock—I will build my Church." The *same* emphatic expression used twice in the *same* short sentence, with reference to the *same* subject, shews distinctly that *Kepha—Peter*—was the *rock*, on which Christ declared he would build his Church.

In the Syriac version of the New Testament, "Peter" and "rock" are expressed by precisely the same word—

Anath Chipha, vehall hada Chipha.

In the Arabic version, the words are also the same, for "Peter" and "rock:"

Anath Alsachra, wahal hada Alsachra.

In a Chaldaic manuscript preserved at Rome, which is said to have been written in Mesopotamia in the year 330, the same word, *sciuha*, stands for Peter and rock.

In the second place, the particle *και*—*and*—points out the link of connection between the members of the sentence: "Thou art Rock, *and* upon this rock I will build my Church." If the *first* rock were different from the *second*, some other particle must of necessity have been employed to shew the change of subject.

Christ says, "Thou art Peter—Rock—and upon *this* rock," &c. Now *this*—the demonstrative pronoun—necessarily refers to the rock mentioned in the same sentence. To assume that Christ pointed with his finger to *himself* when he said "on this rock," is unwarrantable, because it is gratuitous. Such a mode of supposed acting, by supplying signs and gestures, is subversive of all sound interpretation of Scripture. In point of fact, the German Rationalistic School, as we see from Rose's Protestantism in Germany, from Strauss's Life of Jesus, and from the writings of Paulus, De Wett, Wegshieder, and other *sophists*—for to call *such* men *philosophers* would be "phrase absurd"—has adopted this method in *expounding* Scripture. Hence it is that all the miracles of Christ and his Apostles have been explained away, and the entire mysteries of revelation have shared the same fate. Many Protestants do not seem to be aware of the disastrous consequences of *private* interpretation of Scripture; but the truth is, that by pursuing that system to its legitimate extremes, it must end in sheer *rationalism!* They are taught, however, to arrest the progress of private judgment in its headlong career, and to say to it, with Canute, "Thus far wilt thou

go, and no farther." Private judgment, however, is no more to be kept back, *than was the ocean*, by any such arbitrary boundaries.

To defend the interpretation denying Peter to be rock, or to assert that the question is at best but doubtful, and cannot now be determined, has been the object of several Protestant writers. They laboured long, but they laboured in vain. They were clear-sighted enough to see what should result from the admission that *Peter was the rock*. If Peter were the rock, the Church was built upon Peter, and if the Church were built upon Peter, no doubt Peter was invested with superior prerogatives; and if so invested, Peter must have had a primacy among the Apostles, and his supremacy must have extended over all the children of the Church; these sequences are inevitable.

Other Protestant commentators, not of course viewing the question in this light, have denounced as untenable any distinction between *Peter* and *rock*.

Marsh, late Bishop of Peterborough, in his "Comparative View," thus writes:—"But though it was so *easy* (*not quite!*) to confute the arguments of the Romish writers on this subject, both the Lutheran and the Calvinist divines, from the very commencement of the Reformation, had recourse to the uncritical expedient of torturing the words of our Saviour to a meaning which they cannot convey. These learned divines could not divest themselves of the notion, that St Peter was not a sort of tutelary saint, because he was claimed by the Church of Rome; and therefore in the same proportion as the Church of Rome endeavoured to *raise* the importance of St Peter, in the same proportion did the followers both of Luther and Calvin endeavour to *lower* it. And as the words of the Latin vulgate, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*, were so interpreted by the Romish writers, as if that Church were the only Church to which the

words applied, the Lutheran and Calvinist divines saw no other expedient of confuting their adversaries, than by asserting that the latter part of the passage applied not to St Peter at all." He subjoins: "It seems a *desperate* undertaking to prove, that our Saviour alluded to any other person than to St Peter; for the *words* of the passage can indicate no one else."

Bloomfield, a distinguished Anglican—not the present *weak and temporizing Charles James* of London—commenting upon this very text, says, "Almost every modern expositor of note, refers it to Peter himself; and with reason."

Stanley, "Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age," writes: "That it was in consequence of the confession, and in reference to it, that the name was bestowed, thus agreeing with the probable origin of the only other surname bestowed in like manner on any of the other apostles (*Luke* ix. 54), there can be little doubt. But as the name Cephas has regard, not merely to this particular act, but (*John* i. 42) to the general character of which it was the expression, so it seems certain that the words themselves (ἐπι ταυτῃ τῃ πετρᾳ) though occasioned by the confession, *refer to Peter himself*."

Bengel, an erudite commentator, writes that "πετρα and πετρος are synonymous, as both are expressed in Syriac by the term *kepha*." He observes also that it would be incongruous to attach a feminine termination to the name Peter.

Dodwell coincides in this opinion, and demonstrates at much length how *Petra* must be understood to refer to Peter. It may be observed that the Greeks never apply a feminine noun to a man, except in derision. Hence the Evangelist wrote Petros and not Petra; both terms, however, may be reckoned synonymous.

Rosenmüller, the learned German, in his Scholia in Nov. Test. tom. 1, very graphically illustrates

the passage in question. He says, "The rock is neither the confession of Peter, nor Christ, pointing out himself by his finger, or by a shake of the head (which interpretations the context does not admit), but Peter himself. The Lord speaking in Syriac, used no diversity of name, but in both places, said Cephas. . . . 'Thou art called by me Peter, because thou will be as a rock.' And Christ promises that He will build his Church on Peter. Allusion is made to the custom prevailing in Palestine of building houses that are exposed to floods and whirlwinds, on a rocky soil, that they may be able to resist the violence of waters and winds. Therefore whosoever thinks of building a durable house should above all look around for a rock, or firm ground: The rock is the first thing whence the work is to be begun." Thus did this erudite Rationalist write from merely considering the New Testament as an authentic record of historical events. He did not look on the Christian religion as a divine institute, but as the work of a very *good man*, for if he had, he would not have hesitated to cry out, as did Rousseau and others whose names are known to fame—"Prove to me that Christianity is true, and to-morrow I am a Catholic." Yes: all genuine Christianity must be *Catholic*, and there can be no *Catholic Christianity* save in *communion with the Chair of Peter—the see of Rome.* If Rosenmüller had come to our Scottish land—the land of the "mountain and flood," he would have seen here what he saw in Germany, countless systems of religion calling themselves Christian, founded not on the *rock* of authority, but on the *quicksands* of private opinion; and he might say, what all Catholics aver, that such sects having no stable foundation, must eventually totter to their fall!

But let us proceed, by citing other Protestant authorities.

Gerard, in his "Institutes of Biblical Criticism,"

commenting on this very passage, writes: "The connection shews that *Peter is here plainly meant.*"

Thompson of Glasgow, in his Monatessaron, says: "The words *Petros* and *Petra* are here used as appellations of the apostle; and consequently Peter was the rock on which Christ said his Church should be built ... Protestants have used all the hardihood of lawless criticism in their attempts to reason away the Catholic interpretation." This indeed is *an admission with a vengeance*, coming from one who is a Protestant himself, and what is more, being, I believe, of the Presbyterian school!

Moreover, Dr Lee—*fas est ab hoste doceri*—says: "We must admit that that view appears the most obvious and natural, which makes Peter the rock on which the Church was to be built, especially considering what is added respecting 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven' being so committed to his custody. ... It may also be acknowledged that the Popish advocates have gained some advantage from the replies which Protestants have sometimes made." Again, he admits that the supposed action of Christ pointing to himself as the rock "is almost too pitiful for refutation." Besides, he admits that the sophism founded on the change of gender, πετρος and πετρα, "has been well replied to, not only by Bellarmine, Maldonatus, and the other Papal commentators, but by Grotius, Bengel, and many other Protestant critics." He speaks, however, rather cavalierly when he says—"This untenable position has furnished to the Romanists their only triumph: and how eager they have been to magnify this small victory, any one may observe, who looks into their commentators."

Now, assuredly, you will agree with me that there is no possible argument in a *nickname*, and that every thing savouring of rudeness of speech should be

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avoided, even in polemical warfare. In calling *Catholics* "*Romanists*," Dr Lee is perhaps not aware that he is offending against the common courtesies of society, and that he is but copying the conduct of Julian the Apostate, who out of contempt for Jesus Christ decreed that the *Christians* should be named *Galileans;* but who, when struck by the hand of God, cried out in a paroxysm of fury and despair—*Vicisti Galilæe vicisti!* We envy not the Reverend Professor for imitating, however unwittingly, such a wretched example. Like all entrenched in a false position, the Professor endeavours to escape with the best grace he can, by enouncing, in pompous terms, that the post surrendered is "the only triumph of the Romanists, and that the victory is but small." I do hope you will see, in the sequel, that other triumphs are in store, and that *victories* for truth are not always *small:* though it is, I confess, but *a small victory* to upset the "Discourse on Papal Infallibility."

Well, then, the Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh gives up, as untenable, a popular objection which can no longer be urged with any colour of argument. For how can such an objection be urged any more, when it has been proved by the most eminent Scripturists, as I have already stated, that the language spoken by Christ was the Syriac, or the Syro-Chaldaic, and that therefore the word for *Peter* and *rock* is precisely the same. So that Christ must have said, and did say, while addressing Simon Peter—"Thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my Church." The same identity of expression is to be found in the Arabic version, as is very abundantly demonstrated by the learned Maronite Ecchelensis, in his elaborate treatise "De Origine Nominis Papæ." It is true, the genius of the Latin and Greek languages requires a change in the termination, on account of a difference of gender: and the like happens with regard to the Italian, Spanish,

and Portuguese versions of the passage. But the same word in French—*Pierre*—means *rock* and *Peter*, as occurs in the Syro-Chaldaic and other kindred tongues. In all these other languages mentioned, the similarity of the two words is, however, most striking. In German, like the English, the words are dissimilar.

The great theologian of the day, Passaglia, one of the many most distinguished professors in the Roman College, in his work of surpassing interest—"Commentarius de Prærogativis Beati Petri Apostolorum Principis," Lib. ii. cap. 4—employs a vast amount of erudition to illustrate this particular point. After having examined the matter by the light of Scripture, and proved his thesis to a demonstration, he brings all the appliances of philology and patristic literature to bear, and summons in the most distinguished Protestant authorities, such as Bengel, Dodwel, Rosenmüller, Theophilus Kuinoel, Henricus Michælis, and others, to pay tribute to the Catholic view. He moreover inserts *the very words in the Syriac language*, to shew the perfect identity of expression—Peter and Rock. And thus having investigated the question under its every aspect, he clenches it so thoroughly, that no one having any pretensions to biblical scholarship need ever attempt to stir it anew.

Let us, however, not be misunderstood, when we declare that Peter is the rock on which the Church of Christ is built. It is true that this has come to pass in accordance with the good providence of God: yet it is equally true that the *essential Rock* of the Church is *Christ Jesus himself*, who is the chief corner stone, and by whose almighty hand the whole fabric is sustained. Christ, then, is the rock *by excellence*—Peter the rock *by appointment:* Christ is the rock by inherent power—Peter the rock by power received from him: Christ is the heavenly agent—Peter the living earthly

instrument. It is, then, *from Christ*, and through *his divine merits alone*, that the Church founded on Peter derives all her vitality. So that if *Peter* is the *rock*, it is *Christ* who has made *him* the *rock*; and if the Church is built upon *Peter*, as upon a *rock*, it is again *Christ who has done all this*. He is the great Architect; it is He who laid the foundations; it is He who hath reared the superstructure; it is He who hath registered a vow in the archives of heaven, that against his Church, built upon the rock, the "gates of hell should never prevail"! It is then *God*, not *man*, who both speaks and acts. There can therefore be no undue aggrandising of St Peter, and nothing in the least derogatory to our blessed Lord in thus speaking, since we simply state the positive fact. It was the *will* of the man God, as expressly announced, that His Church upon Peter should most certainly be built, and that *will* hath taken effect. Adieu then to all cavilling; for all that has happened, originated in the *wisdom*, and has been executed by the *power* of the Most High.

The learned Camaldolese monk, Don Mauro Cappellari, in his excellent work, "Il Trionfo della Santa Sede," most judiciously observes: "It is true that the *essential rock* is *Christ alone*, and not Peter; for we must distinguish the *essence* of *the* Church from its *visible ministry*, of which *the Apostles are foundations*. But among them Peter is pointed out as the *principal foundation*." It is worthy of remark that this work was published thirty years before its author was raised to the supreme Pontificate, under the name of Gregory XVI.—clarum et venerabile nomen—who was the immediate predecessor of the present saintly Pontiff, Pius the Ninth.

This distinction then between the *esssence of the Church* and its *visible ministry* being made and remembered, will serve to remove many sophistical objections

which are flippantly urged. Thus, for example, a difficulty is raised from those words of the apostle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. iii. 9.) "You are God's building. According to the grace of God that is given me, as a wise architect, I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon. For no man can lay another foundation but that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus." Now, it is perfectly true that the only foundation on which we can build our hopes of future happiness, is Christ and his infinite merits; knowing as we do "that there is no other name under heaven, given to men, whereby we must be saved." Still this does not weaken, much less nullify the promise previously made by Christ to Simon Peter, of being constituted the *rock* on which his Church should be built. For does not the same apostle, in his epistle to the Ephesians, ii. 20, declare, that the faithful are "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone?" Where he speaks of the *apostles* and *prophets* as being the *foundation* of Christians, without any apprehension of being misunderstood, since he always proclaimed that Jesus is the grand key-stone of the Christian building.

Another parallel passage may be cited from Apocal. xxi. 14, where the apostles are called the *foundations* of the city of the living God. "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb." Now this is easily understood; for every foundation rests upon Him.

Let it here be observed, that the Scriptures furnish many examples, in which the very same titles are given to the apostles as are given to Christ, but of course in a wholly different meaning.

He says of himself, John viii. 12, "*I* am the light of the world." Yet in Matt. v. 14, He speaks of the

apostles in the same terms, " *You* are the light of the world."

He says of himself, John x. 11, " I am the good shepherd." Yet in the same chapter it is stated, " And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some *pastors—shepherds.*"

In 1 Pet. ii. 25, we read, " For you were as sheep going astray; but you are now converted to the Shepherd and *Bishop* of your souls." And in the Acts, xx. 28, we read, " Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you *bishops.*"

Now, although the very same designations in other passages of Holy Writ are applied to Christ and his apostles, still the sense is markedly different, and readily understood. But it is needless to accumulate instances.

In the work to which I have just now referred, the venerable Pontiff cites a passage from a sermon delivered by his illustrious predecessor St Leo the Great, who occupied the Chair of Peter in the middle of the fifth century, and who by a masterly touch brings out into bold relief the whole scene, as depicted by the inspired penman. Thus by a stroke of his pencil does he give *breadth* to the outlines of Christ's discourse to Peter, and light to any supposed shade. " As *my Father* has manifested *my divinity to thee*, I make known *to thee thy excellency:* for *thou art Peter*, that is, as I am the inviolable rock, the corner-stone, who make both one—I the foundation other than that no one can lay—nevertheless *thou* also art a *Rock*, because *thou* art strengthened by *my* power, so that those things which *belong to me by nature, are common to thee with me by participation.*" I need not linger any longer in developing this scriptural argument, which I trust has already been put forward with sufficient clearness.

Come we now to examine another invincible argu-

ment in favour of Peter's Supremacy, and which is presented to us under the figure of the "*Keys.*" Our blessed Lord in the same gospel of St Matthew, chap. xvi. continues his address to Peter :—

"And I will give to *thee* the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever *thou* shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven ; and whatsoever *thou* shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven."

This, then, is the *second* prerogative specially given to Peter, and this let us now consider. The term *keys* is obviously not to be understood in its literal acceptation ; the language is metaphorical, and it behoves us to inquire what is thereby meant. In all times and places the *keys* have ever been the recognised emblem of the highest authority, and the possession of the keys is symbolic of supreme power and jurisdiction. The common consensus of mankind is unanimous upon this head.

"Among oriental nations," says the illustrious Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster,[1] "this connection of real power with these its emblems is very marked. We are told by the most accurate of Eastern annalists, how the keys of the temple of Mecca were in the hands of a certain tribe, and with it, the command in that place ; and so necessarily were the two conjoined, that when the *material* keys were extorted by fraud from their possessor, he irrevocably lost his dominion over the sanctuary. And on another occasion, he shewed that the possession of the emblem really conferred the power which it represented." See Specimen Hist. Arab. Oxon, 1806.

This type of authority indicated by *keys*, was employed by other ancient nations.

Parkhurst says, that "Pluto and his wife Proserpine, were by the Greeks and Romans represented with keys in their hands." We need not mention that Pluto, in mythology, was reputed king of the infernal regions.

[1] Lectures on the principal Doctrines, &c.

Æschylus speaks of Jo as the priestess of Juno's temple, and calls her "*key-holder*" of the temple of Juno.

Callimachus exhibits the goddess Ceres as a priestess, and says that she "had a key on her shoulder."

Jahn, in his interesting work on Biblical Archæology, says,—"There is a particular propriety in carrying the *keys* on the *shoulder*, when they are borne as a symbol of authority. For it is very common to speak of the *weight of office* or *authority*, its *burden*, *pressure* of *heavy duties*, and the like: and to say of a person who is placed in an office of great trust and power, that *a weighty burden or a weighty responsibility is placed on his shoulders*." Again he says: "Keys were not made of metal except for the rich and powerful, and these were sometimes adorned with ivory handles." See Odyssey, xxi. 7.

Kitto, in his Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, observes that the keys were frequently made of wood, and were much larger than ours.

Chardin, in his Travels in Persia, remarks that the Persians still use wooden keys.

But let us ourselves recur to holy writ, and we shall find, that both under the old and the new dispensation, the inspired writers have employed the figure of the keys to denote that the existing chief ruler was possessed of paramount authority.

Thus we read in Isaiah xxii. 22, of Eliacim, the son of the high-priest Heli, who was to be substituted to Sobna in the priesthood,—"I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulder; and he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open." The key was hung on the shoulder in former days as the badge of authority, just as in our own times the sceptre, the sword, or mace, are usually borne on the shoulder as emblems of royal power.

In the same book of Isaiah ix. 6, we find, standing out prominently, what is meant by the emblem *keys*.

We read in that most beautiful passage regarding the Messiah, " A child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the *government is upon his shoulder:* and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, God the mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace. His empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of peace. He shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it and strengthen it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth and for ever."

We have seen, then, what the ancient nations understood by the figure of *keys*. They believed that figure to be emblematic of supreme authority. To carry the *key* upon the shoulder, was equivalent to have the *government* upon the shoulder. Hence the prophet wrote of the Redeemer, " The government is upon his shoulder;" thereby intimating, that he was invested with supreme power. The *thin signified* being the *government*, is here substituted for the *sign*, namely *keys*.

In the Apocalypse i. 18, Christ is said to have " the keys of death and of hell;" and this to mark his supreme dominion over both.

" I am the first and the last, and alive and was dead; and behold I am living for ever and ever, and have the *keys of death and of hell.*"

Again, Apoc. iii. 7, " These things saith the holy One and the true One, He that hath the *key of David:* He that openeth, and no man shutteth; shutteth, and no man openeth."

This text evidently points to the Redeemer, and the *key of David* represents the supremacy of power which our blessed Saviour was to wield in his spiritual kingdom, the Church, for he declared, that " all power" had been given to him by his Eternal Father. This *power* and *kingdom* of Christ were prefigured by the temporal *power* and *kingdom* of David. Hence in St Luke i. 32, we read the language of prophecy, " He

shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of David his father; and he shall reign in the house of *Judah* for ever."

Again, Apoc. ix. 1.—But this text is in relation to the *enemy* instead of the *Saviour* of mankind:

"And I saw a star fall from heaven upon the earth, and there was given to him *the key of the bottomless pit.* And he opened the bottomless pit: and the smoke of the pit arose, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened with the smoke of the pit. And from the smoke of the pit there came out locusts upon the earth."

"*The key of the bottomless pit*" signifies the power which the evil spirit, "*the fallen star*," was permitted to employ. Quickly did he exercise that power; for he *opened the pit*, and then followed in rapid succession the dismal evils which the rest of the chapter records.

Again, Apoc. xx. 1.—Mention is here made of a counteracting agency from heaven against the evil one:

"And I saw an angel coming down from heaven, having *the key of the bottomless pit*, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years. And he cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up."

Many ancient writers seem to think that Christ is here signified by the angel: others accept the term angel in its ordinary meaning. Certain, however, it is, that the heavenly messenger having the *key of the bottomless pit*, is clothed with boundless power over the "old serpent." See Passaglia, Lib. cit. cap. viii. pag. 474.

But why dwell in proving what no rational mind

can deny, that *the keys are the symbol of supreme authority?* Is it not so? Has not this very case been brought home to ourselves? Instance among other examples which might be brought, the first coming of the Queen to our ancient city of Perth, when her Majesty was presented with the *keys* by the chief magistrate, to indicate that she was invested with the fulness of temporal power. By the way, this was a mere empty ceremony, so to speak, since our "fair citie" no longer rejoices in her *gates*. Still it is an evidence of the symbolical meaning which was formerly, and is yet, attached to the keys as emblems of power. Besides, it is a relic of the customs of the good old Catholic times.

In fact, with the keys is associated the idea of perfect possession. To give up the keys of a town or a fortress, is tantamount to a surrender; and, on the other hand, to receive the keys of a house is to obtain the right of possession.

It is therefore obvious, from the parallel passages which we have adduced by way of illustration, that when our blessed Lord said to Peter, "I will give to *thee* the keys of the kingdom of heaven," he meant to convey to him all possible spiritual power.

We have previously seen that Christ, the God man, to whom nothing is impossible, had constituted Peter as the *rock* of his Church. The *Church* of Christ was the spiritual *kingdom* of Christ upon earth. He who had been constituted the *rock* of the Church, or spiritual kingdom, is now appointed by the same divine authority, the *viceroy* of the kingdom,—the *living representative* upon earth, and *plenipotentiary* of the Redeemer. Christ addresses Peter individually, "I will give to *thee* the keys of the kingdom of heaven." "What keys?" cries out St Basil; "what power? The keys, the power which Christ himself possessed, and alone possessed, until he shared them with Peter; and still possesses, but now shared—communicated, but not

alienated—elevating Peter, but not lowering Christ—giving much, but losing nothing."

But let us proceed. Christ continues his address to Peter,—"And whatsoever *thou* shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever *thou* shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven." Never was language plainer, and never was greater power given by God to man! The power of binding and of loosing is uncontrolled—no limits are defined—no restriction whatever is made. Christ pledges his sacred word, that the exercise of that power, paramount as it was, and uncircumscribed, should be ratified by God above. He declares, that the acts of his vicegerent, done in his official capacity, as head of the Church, should be stamped with the broad seal of Omnipotence! What more could our blessed Redeemer say, or what more would men have him to say? Or could any words more clearly prove the *supremacy* for which we contend, than those which fell from the divine lips of our Saviour on that solemn occasion?

Certainly we are not straining the point, but taking the simple, natural, and legitimate meaning of the words. To attach any other, or to try to explain them away, is to offer violence to the sacred text, and to run counter to our every idea of hermeneutics, which require the Scriptures to be interpreted in their natural obvious sense, unless there be an evident reason to the contrary.

Acting in accordance with these sound canons of scriptural exegesis, the ancient Fathers and all Catholic theologians receive the words in question in their literal acceptation, as implying that St Peter was invested with the plenitude of power. It would be tedious to lay before you the many extracts which we might cull from Tertullian, Origin, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Serapion, Cæsarius, Chrysostom, and so

many others, whose united testimony is as consentaneous as it is irrefragable. One circumstance, however, should not be forgotten, for it speaks volumes with regard to the belief of Christian antiquity. Among the many works of art seen at Rome in the Basilics—in the Vatican and other museums,—and which have been carefully preserved from the earliest ages,—St Peter is uniformly characterised as bearing one, two, or more keys. This of itself is abundantly significant, nay it is proof *palpable* that the primitive Christians believed, as Catholics have ever believed, that the power of the keys was specially given to the Prince of the Apostles. See Ciampini, Aringhi, Foggini, and others, who have compiled the most interesting volumes on Christian Antiquities.

The Professor of Biblical Criticism writes in rather a burlesque tone about "St Peter painted with a great key in his hand," &c. True, he may write as he pleases; but surely it is far from being wise to indulge sarcasm at the expense of Christian antiquity. Those who sneer at the saints may eventually scoff at the religion of the God of the saints. The transition is rapid: ridicule passes quickly from one to all the articles of the Christian code. *Facilis descensus averni!*

But let us bring forward some distinguished Protestant writers, who eschew this levity, and who hesitate not to adopt the Catholic view of the question. Thus Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his work "on Church Government," writes: "Our Lord received from God the keys of heaven; and by virtue of this grant had power to remit sins on earth: the same keys, with the power which accompanied them, were first promised to Peter, as the foreman of the Apostolic College."

Bloomfield says:—"The key was a badge of high office and distinction in the regal governments of antiquity, of which vestiges remain even in our own

times. Thus, to confer the keys of the kingdom of heaven on any one, is to invest him with *authority therein*, for the promotion of its establishment and preservation." Commenting on those words of Christ to Peter, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind," &c. he thus proceeds: —"Whatsoever thou shalt declare lawful and constitute in the Church, shall be ratified and held good with God." To bear him out in this interpretation, he appeals to the book of Daniel, to the Chaldaic paraphrase, to the Rabbinical writers, and to other sources.

Cameron, in his Scriptural commentary, writes:—"It is obvious from the words referred to, that something in *particular* was given to Peter, which was not *common* to the other apostles.....For there are many things which prove the *singular prerogative* conferred on Peter by Christ, apart from the rest of the apostles..... Again: What was the drift of the discourse of Christ? Was it not—I say *to thee;* I will give to *thee; Thou art Peter;* all this in the most emphatic manner addressed to *Peter alone.*"

Hammond, in his Annotations on Matthew, thus writes:—"The keys of the kingdom of heaven signify the power of governing the Church.....This is the power which Christ promises he will give to Peter *exclusively.*"

Clerk, who edited a new edition of Hammond's Commentaries on the New Testament, perfectly coincides with the author.

It is unnecessary to bring forward any more Protestant testimonies, or to subjoin many observations of our own on what they have written. They admit that the keys are emblematic of the highest authority; they admit that to Peter *alone* the keys were given by Christ; and they admit that the power of the keys was to be exercised. Therefore, *ex concessis*, Peter had the supremacy of power and jurisdiction given him by Christ under the figure of the keys, and that power exercised

by him on earth, was to be confirmed by God in heaven.

Dr Lee, with the characteristic hankering after novelties which distinguishes the votaries of our Scottish Zion, endeavours to throw a lurid light upon the subject. He acknowledges that the delegation of the keys to Peter was "a distinction appropriate as well as honourable;" but then he vainly contends "that the power, whatever it might be, was strictly personal—I will give to *thee* the keys."

Now this is a mode of arguing which logicians style an attempt to prove too much, and which therefore proves nothing. *Qui nimis probat, nihil probat.* Give the power of the keys, says the Professor in equivalent terms, by all means to Peter, but it must not descend to the Roman Pontiffs—"let it be strictly personal." On precisely the same grounds might we argue, that all the other prerogatives given to Peter and the Apostles should be "strictly personal:" we might argue that these prerogatives expired with them, and consequently, that the privileges of the Christian ministry, nay, that Christianity itself was not to survive their death! For what would the Christian religion become if we sweep away the vitally important privileges imparted by Christ to his Apostles, of teaching, and preaching, and baptising, and administering the other sacred ordinances, if these privileges were "strictly personal,"—if they were not hereditary—if they were not to be transmitted to their legitimate successors? Why should any particular exception be made? If the apostolic gifts died with the apostolic times, what right has "the minister of the Old Greyfriars" to mount the pulpit and to *preach* to the refined citizens of our modern Athens the crude nostrums of Calvinism, or to propound from the chair of biblical criticism the ludicrous crotchets of private interpretation of Scripture? If apostolic gifts are "strictly per-

sonal," why again does he venture to baptize, or to dispense "the Lord's Supper?" Where is *his right*, if such ceased with the Apostles? Is not this enough to shew how gratuitous is his assumption, that the *power* in question "was strictly personal?" Beyond any doubt, the essential gifts of the Christian ministry, given in the first place to the Apostles, were for ever to be perpetuated in the Church. This is no idle assertion, for we have the promise of Christ himself that he would be with them, and of necessity with their successors, all days, even to the consummation of the world. The Apostles were not to be exempt from the common fate of nature. They were to die, but the immortal privileges of the Christian ministry were not to die with them. These powers were to live on, and by the sacrament of holy orders were to be handed over to "faithful men," who should succeed them in doing the work of the apostolate. But we shall treat this subject more at large when we come afterwards to speak of the *supremacy perpetuated.*

Private judgment may think otherwise, and *private opinion* may speak differently, but the revealed truths of Christianity were surely never intended to be brought to the bar of *private judgment*, much less to be lacerated by *private opinion.* The system of *Church authority* was established by Christ, at the beginning, when he said, "*Hear the Church;* he that will *not hear the Church*, let him be to thee as a heathen or a publican;" and that glorious system which alone conserves unity, and "captivates the understanding in obedience to faith," is to be continued to the end.

But let us listen again to our reverend opponent. Dr Lee, commenting on this passage,—"Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven,"—says, with all self-complacence, "The schoolmen and the doctors of the middle ages

cannot be the proper authorities to inform us, what is the meaning which should be attached to those two Greek verbs, "binding and loosing." Now, if *they* are not "proper authorities," can we have the simplicity to believe, that a *proper authority* for critical exegesis of Scripture, is to be found in the present occupant of the chair of Biblical Criticism in the University of Edinburgh? We really marvel at the *modesty* of Presbyterian Professors.

Other Scriptural proofs let us hasten to adduce, which must strengthen our position. On the eve before the passion of our Lord, when the divine Shepherd was to be struck, and his flock to be dispersed; when the storm of persecution was to burst over their heads, and the Master whom they so much loved was to be torn from among them; then it was that the blessed Jesus thus feelingly discoursed with his disciples:—"You are they who have continued with me in my temptations: and I appoint to you, as my Father hath appointed to me, a *kingdom;* that you may eat and drink at my table, and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."[1] Thus, as the Father had constituted him *king*, does he give unto them a *kingdom* for their fidelity to him in the hour of trial. But this *kingdom* was not of this world: it was not *temporal*, it was *spiritual*. They were appointed to spiritual ordinances—to partake of the banquet of the Lamb, and as priests and kings to sit on thrones to judge. These distinctions are common to them all, but you will observe the peculiar privileges reserved *for him* who is the "Leader," Luke ix. The kingdom of Christ, I say, was a *spiritual*, yet a *visible* kingdom, and such a kingdom must have a *spiritual*, *visible* king, or supreme governor. Hence Christ directs himself to the Prince of the apostles, and tells him how Satan had desired to destroy their thrones and altars; tells him

[1] Luke xxii. 28.

how their adversary was so anxious to undermine their faith, nay to ruin their souls, but that in order to counteract his nefarious stratagems, he had besought the Father to protect the *throne of Peter*, and thereby to secure the rest from destruction. "And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have *you*, that he may sift *you* as wheat: *but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.*"—Luke xxii. This is a most important declaration, and should be duly weighed. The enemy of mankind had sought the destruction of the apostles, and to prevent that calamity the Redeemer prayed *specially* for the indefectibility of Peter's faith, that thereby he might strengthen the faith of his brethren. "Simon, Simon," he touchingly said, behold your "adversary, who was a murderer from the beginning," has sought to winnow you all, that he may cast you as chaff into the fire, "but I have prayed for *thee*, that thy faith fail not: and *thou* being converted, confirm *thy* brethren."

Surely, then, if Christ was so earnest in prayer for *Peter*—if he singled out *Peter* as the object of his particular solicitude—it was because so much depended on that apostle. He prayed for Peter, who was to be the head, and should become the support of the apostolic body; and in praying for the *head*, he prayed for the *members*. Christ prayed specially for *him*, whom he had pronounced "*blessed*" for testifying to his divinity—he prayed for him whom he had constituted the rock of his Church—he prayed for him to whom he had given the *keys* of the kingdom of heaven—he prayed the Father that the faith of Simon Peter should fail not, but that, being once converted, he should confirm his brethren. "Being once converted, —that is, after having bewailed his sad fall, his faith should be so fortified as to enable him to strengthen his brethren. For it should be remem-

bered—and this observation is calculated to silence an objection which is urged, that because Peter *fell* in the hour of trial, he was not the *head* of the Church—it should be remembered, I say, that although the *promise* of Christ had been made to Peter, and the *prayer* offered up in Peter's behalf, still the *office of chief pastor* had not *as yet* been conferred upon him. It was *only after the resurrection* of our blessed Lord, being about to withdraw his visible presence from mankind, that he gave to Peter the *commission* to "feed the lambs and the sheep," thereby constituting him the supreme shepherd of his entire flock. Here we are lost in admiration in contemplating the mercy and the power of God, for pardoning the penitent, and elevating the humble Peter to the highest dignity of the Church, notwithstanding his triple denial, which to him afterwards was ever the subject of the bitterest grief.

St Leo (serm. 3) justly observes—"The danger arising from the temptation of fear was common to all the apostles, and they likewise needed the aid of the divine protection, since the devil was desirous of harassing them all, and of destroying them all; and yet *special care is taken of Peter* by the Lord, and supplication is made especially for the *faith of Peter*, as if the *state of the others* is likely to be more secure if the *mind of the prince* be not overcome."

But be it observed that even during the lifetime of our blessed Lord, Peter enjoyed *pre-eminence among the apostles*. To shew that there was a "Leader" amongst them, and yet to inculcate upon all the necessity of humility, Christ Jesus contrasts the spirit by which they should be guided with the pompous pride of worldly princes. On a *previous occasion* he had brought forward a little child to teach them an example; and, *on the present*, he offers himself as a model for their imitation. "The kings of the earth lord it over them . . . . but you, not so: but he who is *greatest* among you, let

him be as the least: and he that is the *Leader* as he that serveth. For which is greater, he that sitteth at table, or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at table? But I am in the midst of you, as he that serveth," Luke, xxii. 25. Thus, while he speaks of one who is the *greatest* among them—one who is the *Leader*—does he press home upon them the duty of overcoming one another by meekness and condescension, so that the very *First* among them shall, like their divine Master, lead on by his example of humility and forbearance.

This view of the subject, that there was a Leader or Primate among the apostles, or *chief*, as the Protestant version has it, gains additional force, by the consideration of many incidental circumstances. In the catalogues of the apostles, which the evangelists have furnished, Peter is always mentioned as the *first*, and Judas the *last*. Thus,

Matthew, x. 2.

"The first, Simon, who is called Peter."

Mark, i. 36.

"Simon, and they that were with him."

Luke ix. 32.

"Peter, and they that were with him."

Again, Acts v. 29.

"But Peter and the apostles answering said, we ought to obey God rather than men."

It is unnecessary to cite more instances; for all the evangelists invariably mention Simon Peter by name, or as the *first*, and the rest of the apostles collectively, or in promiscuous order. By St Matthew is *St Andrew*, and by St Mark is *St James*, named before the other ten: by St Luke sometimes is *St Andrew*, and some-

times is *St John*, mentioned before the other ten; but *St Peter* is ever mentioned by all the evangelists in the *first* place. Besides, when mention is made of *St Andrew*, it is generally added, that he was the "brother of Simon Peter:" *St Peter*, on the other hand, is never styled the brother of *St Andrew*. Now this very circumstance is significant, as shewing that St Peter, although the younger brother, and called subsequently to the school of Christ, was invested with such dignity in the apostolic college, that it was highly honourable for St Andrew to be related to him.

Well does the distinguished Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore write:[1] "We are naturally led to consider in what sense Peter is called The First, ὁ πρῶτος; whether merely as occurring first to the memory of the sacred writer on this occasion; or because he was leader and head of the others. The first supposition is excluded by the very remark that he was *the First*, which would have been superfluous, if the order of registering the names, in this instance, were merely meant, especially since the others have no number attached to them. Besides, the constant custom of all the evangelists, who invariably place the name of Peter *first*, proves that this place was assigned him for a special reason, since the names of the rest are put in various order, with the exception of Judas, who, on account of his perfidy, is always placed last. We cannot suppose that Peter is put *first* merely on account of the excellence of his personal qualities, when we remember his weakness in the hour of temptation. He is *First* evidently as Leader and Head. Whilst our Lord was on earth, He alone was Head of His Church, and Peter had not positive authority over his brethren. At that time his precedency was rather of order, or rank, than of jurisdiction and government; but it was wisely so ordained, that by this position he might be

[1] Primacy of the Apostolic See.

prepared for the high office to which he was to be elevated." Yes, it is but just to infer that his name was placed the first, because he really occupied the first rank in power and jurisdiction among the apostles.

The Protestant Bishop Barrow writes in his Treatise, "The Pope's Supremacy:"—"Constantly in all the catalogues of the apostles, St Peter's name is set in the front, and when actions are reported, in which he was concerned conjointly with others, he is usually mentioned, *which seemeth not done without careful design or special reason.* Upon such grounds it may be reasonable to allow St Peter a primacy of order."

Professor Lee objects, that "the epithet, *first*, is of no particular significance, ... it cannot indicate that he had any jurisdiction or supremacy over the rest; for that he had any such, no one will ever believe, who will venture to read the New Testament by the light of common sense." May we ask if the Professor of Biblical Criticism brought his *common sense* to bear, when he could have penned so audacious a statement?

Surely there must be, and there must have been, some "common sense" among the great majority of Christians; and yet the *sensus communis* of Christendom has ever been in favour of Catholic interpretation, to the utter rejection of Calvinistic theorizing. How unwarrantable is it, then, for a so-called minister of the gospel, to try and explain away what is so peculiarly *telling!* As if the *inspired* evangelists wrote at *random*, and employed words in the sacred text of "no particular significance!" Is this the manner, may I ask, in which the Professor *grapples* with those things which are "hard to be understood, which the unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their own destruction?"[1] Is this the way in which our reverend adversary meets those strong scriptural arguments which speak

[1] 2 Pet. iii. 16.

so emphatically in favour of Catholic truth, by announcing to his *alumni* that they are of no "particular significance," and wisely leaving them *unanswered*, because they are *unanswerable?* We really sympathize with the students of the biblical class in the Edinburgh University, for being trained after such a fashion, and indoctrinated with the *precious* prelections *which are enounced from the Biblical Chair.*

The epithet, *first*, is then, on the contrary, of *decided significance.* Coupled with the proofs already adduced, it proves to a demonstration that Peter was *primus* of the apostolic college, and was possessed of supremacy over the body apostolic.

Add to what has been said, that on every occasion, Peter stands forth as the *first*, both in word and in action. Does the Redeemer wish to know the sentiments of his apostles on any given point? It is Peter that invariably replies for himself and brethren.

It was Peter who answered, when Jesus being pressed by the multitude, said, "Who is it that touched me?" Luke viii. 45.

It was Peter, who said unto the Lord, "Behold we have left all things and followed thee;" Matthew xix. 27.

It was Peter, who from his intense love of Jesus, was desirous that the announcement of his death might not be accomplished; *Idem.* xvi. 22.

It was Peter, who, in the name of James and John, wished to tarry on Mount Thabor; *Idem.* xvii. 4.

It was Peter who beckoned to John, leaning on Jesus' bosom, that he should ask who it should be who was to betray him; John xiii. 23.

It was Peter, when Jesus mentioned to his disciples that he was soon to leave them, who said, "Lord, why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thee;" *Idem.* xiii. 37.

It was Peter alone who strove to defend his Master,

when the Jews came to lay violent hands upon him; *Idem.* xviii. 10.

But it is useless to add more examples by way of illustration, as Peter is constantly singled out in particular *by name*, while the rest are spoken of *in globo*. It is thus evident, that Peter was ever the object of Christ's special solicitude—that he held the *first* place—and that he was the *Leader* and *Head* of all the other apostles.

If, then, despite of what has been so coolly written by Dr Lee, we bring *our common sense* to bear upon the subject at all, we are forced to admit, from reviewing the proofs already adduced, that no point is more clearly established in Scripture than the supremacy of Peter. But truth to say, our adversaries, generally speaking, lay their *common sense* aside, when they approach to the consideration of this or other doctrines of the Catholic Church. Their minds are warped with prejudice from their earliest years, and by a perverted ingenuity, they try to make the Scriptures harmonize with their preconceived erroneous ideas. It is not, then, *what the Scriptures say*, but what they *force the Scriptures to say and to mean*, that is the cause of such contradictions and contrarieties in religion: and such shall continue to be the case as long as men, in matters of faith, continue to follow the deceptive glimmerings of a private fallible judgment, instead of the steady beacon-light of God's unerring Church!

II. THE SUPREMACY INSTITUTED.

Having, for the benefit of the Professor of Biblical Criticism in the Edinburgh University, proved from *Scripture*, that our blessed Lord promised to Peter that he would constitute him the *rock* on which his

church should be built—having likewise proved that he would give to Peter the *keys*, with the assurance, that what he should *bind* or *loose* on earth should be *bound* or *loosened* in heaven—having also proved that a special charge had been delivered to Peter, to *confirm* his brethren in the faith, we come now to contemplate the perfect fulfilment of all those promises, in the institution of the office of the supremacy. There is an argument which may not inappropriately be introduced here, which will serve both to illustrate and to strengthen our position. That argument is derived from considering the constitution of the ancient synagogue. The synagogue was confessedly a type of the Christian Church, and had many things to prefigure the *glorious reality*. Amongst others, the synagogue had its *High Priest*, who was the visible head of the Jewish Church—who was appointed to settle all disputes which might arise, and to whose judgment all were obliged to defer.

This is distinctly laid down in the book of Deuteronomy, xvii. 8, " If thou perceive that there be among you a hard and difficult *matter* in judgment, ... arise and go up to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose. And thou shalt come to the priests of the *Levitical race*, and to the *judge* that shall be at that time; and thou shalt ask of them, and they shall show thee the truth of the judgment. And thou shalt do whatsoever *they shall say* that preside in the place, what the Lord shall choose, and what they shall teach thee according to his law; and thou shalt follow their sentence, neither shalt thou decline to the right hand nor to the left hand. But he that will be proud, and refuse to obey the commandment of *the priest, who ministereth at that time to the Lord thy God, and the decree of the judge: that man shall die, and thou shalt take away the evil from Israel.*"

Here, then, was a strict obligation imposed on the people of the old covenant, to obey in religious matters

the rightly constituted authority, and to submit, under the severest penalty, to the judgment pronounced by the synagogue. *Private feelings or opinions* were utterly discarded. There was but *one high priest*, for the time being, of the Jewish church, and from his award there was no appeal. Now if all that was done under the *old law* was merely a figure of what should be done under the *new*—if the organization of the *Jewish* was a bare type of the *Christian church*—if, moreover, the high priest of the synagogue was possessed of such ample powers, how great must be the powers with which the supreme pontiff of the church of Jesus Christ is invested? The *new law* surpasses the *old*, inasmuch as the *substance* surpasses the *shadow*, and the *thing typified* surpasses the *mere type:* hence in the same proportion do the prerogatives of the sovereign pontiff of Christendom transcend the prerogatives of the high priest of the former dispensation.

It is very true, what we all know and believe, that Jesus Christ is the great High Priest of God and man. But he no longer *visibly* exists upon the earth, whereas his church exists; and his church being a *visible* body, must have a *visible* head, and where else are we to look for this *visible* head, except in the person of the Roman pontiff, the legitimate successor of Simon the fisherman?

If we demur to make this admission, we leave the most conspicuous feature under the Jewish government without its counterpart in the Christian church. We set at nought what is universally admitted, that the "shadow of the good things"[1] was to be followed by the substantial reality, and that the outlines of the Jewish system were to be perfectly filled up by the great Christian institute.

Let it be moreover added, that every existing government—*democratic*, *aristocratic*, *monarchical*, or what-

[1] Hebrews x. 1.

ever may be its constitution, has a head or chief executive. Without such, it would be nothing but an amalgam of confusion: in point of fact, it would cease to be a government, and would degenerate into the sheerest anarchy. Now the church is a *visible* society, has a *visible* government, and must have a *visible* head. The theory of an *invisible* church is too preposterous to dwell in refuting it—an *invisible* church for *visible* beings! How incongruous the idea! Without, then, a *visible* head, the body of the faithful could never be preserved in unity. In truth, our separated brethren, who clamour so lustily against the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, admit, notwithstanding the boasted privilege of private judgment, the absolute necessity of having *some kind of head upon the shoulders* of their respective creeds. Their heterogeneous systems will not work unless there should exist some tribunal of appeal, where their differences may be *hushed* up, but certainly not *adjusted*. We have seen this carried out in the famous Gorham case, where the question of baptismal regeneration was brought before the tribunal of the Court of Arches, and thence carried by appeal to the Queen in council. It then became the duty of her Majesty to preside, as supreme ecclesiastical governor, and to pronounce, as *spiritual* head of the Anglican Church, upon this fundamental article of Christianity—whether *it was*, or *was not*, the doctrine of the English Church, as *by law established?*

In our own country of Scotland, there is an everlasting appeal from the Presbytery to the Synod, and from the Synod to the General Assembly, which is held yearly at Edinburgh; and all this time, the grand principle of the Reformation, *private judgment*, is practically set aside. The General Assembly is then *supreme* in the Scottish Kirk; the *spiritual headship* of the sovereign being utterly repudiated.

Bishop Gillis, in his excellent letters on the "Eccle-

siastical Titles Bill," says with much point, in reference to Scotland,—

"There is in Scotland no body of Christians, of any kind or description, acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of the Queen. There is none which does not emphatically protest against it.

"The established Presbyterianism of Scotland rejects that supremacy.

"Every branch of Presbyterian dissent, the Free Church included, rejects it.

"The Episcopalians reject it.

"The Catholics reject it.

"The Unitarians and the Society of Friends, of course, reject it. In a word, the whole nation rejects it.

"The law of the land protests against the spiritual supremacy of the sovereign. It was abrogated in Scotland, when Episcopacy was abolished in 1689, when "the King had 'Chimney Money' granted him instead of his supremacy."[1]

"The abolition of said royal spiritual supremacy was confirmed in 1707 by the Articles of Union, where the rights and privileges of the respective Churches of England and Scotland were made fundamental conditions of the Union of the two Kingdoms."

During the sittings of the General Assembly, however, Her Majesty's Lord Commissioner invariably presides; although, I believe, the annual farce is enacted of protesting against his *official* presence. Be this as it may, the Assembly is looked upon as *Supreme* in the Scottish Kirk, and acts, to all intents and purposes, with as much dogmatism as if it were gifted with *a species of infallibility*. When this *oracle* speaks, its voice must be heard, and obeyed. Should the accused minister have the hardihood to refuse to yield to the

[1] Guthrie's History of Scotland.

sentence of the "*Fathers and Brethren*," he is censured for his temerity; and, if obstinate, he is liable to be eliminated from his charge. If he fall back upon private judgment, he is answered in equivalent terms—*private judgment is very fine in theory, but it works badly in practice.* So that, in such case, there is no other expedient for the unfortunate parson but to devour the cud of his chagrin, or to throw up his living—which direful extreme, particularly if he be *married*, it is rather uncomfortable to contemplate!

Look also at the Wesleyan Methodists and their organization: they have their meetings—their conferences—their tribunals of appeal. They try to settle their religious differences among themselves, without having recourse to any Church *by law established*, whether by God or man. Should any member prove refractory, he is admonished: if he does not relent, he is forthwith expelled from the body; and during all this time it is duly announced, as an article of their creed, that each one is to exercise and to follow his own private judgment!

We need not enumerate other instances, for all Protestant sects have *a head* of some kind or another. To this *head*, or supreme executive, they must all—*nolentes*, *volentes*—respectively succumb. Now, what is all this but multiplying *heads* on the mystical *body* of Christ upon earth, which is his *one visible Church*—multiplying tribunals of appeal among Christians, and thereby increasing the sources of religious discord. Instead of recognising the one œcumenical Primate, who can trace back the unbroken line of his predecessors to the days of Simon the fisherman—instead of converging to the one grand centre of unity, towards which the great majority of Christians, in every age, have tended, what do we find in Great Britain, but each Protestant sect—and the number is legion—or rather each Protestant individual, standing isolated

upon the unstable tripod of his own private judgment —each one giving forth his new fangled views for Gospel truth—each one becoming a stumbling-block to his fellow men; and thus each Protestant, however unconsciously, doing what he can to undermine the foundation of the "household of faith," and to tear in pieces the unity of the Church, which is so often assimilated to the seamless garment of the Redeemer!

To prove, then, that Christ chose Peter to preside over the college of the Apostles—to govern the entire Church, and to discharge those duties of *Headship*, which he himself, while living in the world, fulfilled, is beyond any doubt abundantly evident from the scriptural evidence already adduced. Additional and most convincing argument, however, is furnished from the Gospel of St John.[1] After his resurrection, the Redeemer manifested himself to his disciples by the sea-side, and the following affecting dialogue is recorded to have taken place between Christ and Simon Peter, in the presence of Thomas, James, John, and others. It was upon that occasion that he required a triple avowal of Peter's love, as a kind of counterpoise to Peter's triple denial. Peter had previously made a glorious declaration of the divinity of his Master: *that* declaration of *Faith* received its reward by his being constituted the Rock of the Church—*this* avowal of superior love is to have its recompense, by his being appointed the universal shepherd of Christ's fold.—"When, therefore, they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon, *son* of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith to him: yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: *Feed my Lambs.* He saith to him again: Simon, *son* of John, lovest thou me? He saith to him: yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: *Feed my Lambs.*

[1] John xxi. 15.

He saith to him the third time: Simon, *son* of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved, because he said to him the third time—lovest thou me? And he said to him: Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. He said to him: *Feed my Sheep.*"

This beautiful passage is brimful of meaning and of importance, and requires only to be developed to prove all that we require. Father Passaglia, to whose work of surpassing erudition and interest I have already referred, commenting upon it,[1] says:—There are three things chiefly to observed in regard to this discourse: the *first* is, that Christ addresses Peter *alone*, separated from the rest of the apostles and disciples; the *second* is, that certain distinctive and super-eminent privileges are accorded *to him*; and the *third* is, that their peculiar excellence is to be uncircumscribed by any limits, whether of honour or of order, but rather to involve supreme and universal authority. The very designation, "*Simon, son of John;*"—the significant transition of the discourse, "when they had dined, Jesus saith to *Simon Peter;*"—the words in the comparative degree, "Lovest *thou* me more than these?"—all go to prove to a demonstration the individuality of Peter alone.

Moreover, it is obvious that certain super-eminent privileges were to be accorded to him since the Redeemer, at three successive times, required the pledge of his unequalled affection: diligis me impensius his?[2] And as a reward for that superior love which burned in the heart of Peter, the divine commission was *thrice* given to him to feed the flock of Christ. "Feed my lambs—ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου—pasce oves meas."

Now, to receive unlimited authority "to feed the lambs, and to feed the sheep," is to be constituted universal shepherd over the entire sheepfold of Christ. "To feed the lambs and to feed the sheep" is to tend,

[1] Liber i. cap. 10. [2] Luke vii. 42.

to watch over, to control the people and the pastors themselves—the *people* who, under this figurative language are represented in relation to their *pastors*, as *lambs* in relation to *sheep*. To feed a flock is to direct all its movements—to rule it without let or hindrance. This the original Greek text distinctly implies; besides, this is the usual scriptural meaning of the term. Thus, King David is styled the Shepherd of God's people:[1] again, King Cyrus is called the Shepherd of God:[2] and Christ is named the Great Shepherd of the one sheepfold.[3] These designations clearly signify the chief ruler. Besides,[4] where the Vulgate has: *Reges eos:* the Greek version runs ποιμανεις αυτους: pasces eos—Feed them, as the Syriac and Arabic interpreters render it. Thus, what we read in St Matthew,[5] Regat populum meum, is rendered in Greek, ποιμανει τον λαον μου—feed my people.

Therefore Peter, in receiving the commission to feed the lambs and to feed the sheep, is in consequence appointed Head Shepherd of the Fold of Christ. That commission he received in the presence of John, James, Thomas, and others, who were so many living witnesses to testify to the grand fact. By virtue, then, of his primacy of office, he was to exercise a supremacy of jurisdiction over all. This superintendance was to be *particular* as it was to be *general*. He was to have a care that in every quarter the lambs and the sheep should drink of the water that flows from the river of life, and should feed upon the pasturage which strengthens to salvation!

Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, who lived in the beginning of the fifth century, wrote to this effect:—First, Christ intrusted Peter with his lambs, next with his sheep; because he made him not only a shepherd, but the *Shepherd of Shepherds*. Peter then

[1] Ezekiel xxxiv. [2] Isaiah xliv. [3] John x.
[4] Psalms ii. 9. [5] Matt. ii. 6.

feeds the lambs, he also feeds the sheep. He feeds both the young and their mothers. He rules both *subjects* and *prelates*. He is therefore a *shepherd* over all. For besides lambs and sheep there is nothing in the Church."

Origen, commenting on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, cap. vi. says, "When the *chief power* of feeding the sheep was given to Peter, and the Church was built *upon him* as upon a rock: the profession of no other virtue was required of him than that of love." Thus allusion is made to two of the leading arguments which prove Peter's supremacy.

We shall afterwards take occasion to dwell on this most important commission of Christ to Peter. Meantime it may be well to look into the expositions of some distinguished Protestant commentators on the text in question.

Bengel[1] expounds those words, πλεῖον τούτων, *more than these*; that is, "*thy fellow disciples.*" He adds: Peter had *formerly* promised to do more than they—"although all shall be scandalized in thee, I will never be scandalized:"[2]—*now* he simply says, "I love thee"—*amo te*—without adding, *plus his, more than they.*

Bloomfield[3] contends that the only true meaning of the text is—"*Lovest thou me more than these love me?*" *which interpretation*, he says, has been sanctioned by the best commentators, both ancient and modern, and that any other interpretation is jejune, far-fetched, and alien to the circumstances of the case and to the persons concerned.

Rosenmüller[4] writes as if there could be no doubt about the matter: "Ἀγαπᾷς με πλεῖον τουτων: amas me magis quam hi ceteri? Lovest thou me more than these others? τουτων, in this place, is the masculine and not the neuter gender, and cannot refer, as Whitby

[1] In Gnom ad. John xxi.
[2] Matt. xxvi. 33.
[3] In Notis ad H.
[4] In Scholiis.

would have it, either to the *ship* or to the *fish*, but to the rest of the Apostles." We might have observed that when Christ first shewed himself to his disciples by the sea-side, and before the conversation which we have rehearsed took place, they were engaged in fishing. According to His direction, the net was thrown on the right side of the ship, and "Simon[1] Peter went up, and drew the net to land, full of great fishes." This miraculous draught was doubtless significaut of the multitudes of believers which the apostles, with St Peter at their head, should gather into the Church. Some writers have allowed their prejudices so far to blind their judgment, as to suppose that the question put by Christ to Peter had reference not to the *apostles*, but rather to *the fish!* an idea so utterly preposterous, as to be unworthy of notice.

Dr Lee *surmounts* the insuperable argument in favour of papal supremacy resulting from Christ's commission "to feed the lambs and the sheep"—by standing aloof from it entirely—a line of acting followed by many of his compeers, who find it their best policy not to attempt to grapple with what would be to them perfectly overwhelming.

Here we may be pardoned for introducing a somewhat lengthy quotation from Leibnitz,[2] who, though standing as it were at the *threshold*, never was received into the church. It is much to our purpose, and beautifully unfolds the subject on hand. "Since, therefore, our merciful and sovereign God has established his Church on earth as a sacred '*city placed upon a mountain*'[3]—his immaculate spouse and the interpreter of his will—and has so earnestly commanded the universal maintenance of her unity in the bond of love, and has commanded that she should be heard by all

[1] John xxi. 11.
[2] System of Theology. Translated by Dr Russell.
[3] Matt. v. 14.

who would not be esteemed 'as *the heathens and the publicans;*' it follows that he must have appointed some mode by which the *will of the Church*, the interpreter of the *divine will*, could be known. What this mode is, was pointed out by the apostles, who in the beginning represented the body of the Church. For, at *the Council which was held in Jerusalem*, in explaining their opinion, they use the words, '*It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.*'[1] *Nor did this privilege of the assistance of the Holy Ghost cease in the Church with the death of the Apostles;* it is to endure '*to the consummation of the world*,' and has been propagated throughout the whole body of the Church *by the Bishops as successors of the Apostles.*'

"Now, as from the impossibility of the Bishops frequently leaving the people over whom they are placed, it is not possible to hold a council continuously, or even frequently, while at the same time the *person of the Church* must always live and subsist, in order that its will may be ascertained, it was a necessary consequence, by the divine law itself, insinuated in Christ's most memorable words to Peter,[2]—(when he committed to him *specially* the keys of the kingdom of heaven, as well as when he thrice emphatically commanded *him* to 'feed his sheep'),—and uniformly believed in the Church, that *one* among the Apostles, and *the successor of this one* among the Bishops, was invested with pre-eminent power; in order that by him, as the visible centre of unity, the body of the Church might be bound together; the common necessities be provided for: a council, if necessary, be convoked, and when convoked, directed; and that in the interval between councils, provision might be made lest the commonwealth of the faithful sustain any injury. And as *the ancients unanimously attest that the Apostle Peter governed the Church, suffered martyrdom, and appointed his successor in the city*

[1] Acts xv. 28. [2] Matt. xv.; John xxi.

of Rome, the capital of the world; and as no other Bishop has ever been recognised under this relation, we justly acknowledge *the Bishop of Rome* to be *chief of all the rest*."

This extract is made for the special benefit of the Professor of Biblical Criticism, who, in keeping with his usual reckless mode of assertion,[1] speaks of "that meeting at Jerusalem which has often, though *very improperly*, been styled the first General Council." And again,[2] "That Peter was ever at Rome, is a point which has been much disputed, and is *incapable of any historical proof*. That *he did not* plant the Roman Church is as certain as that Paul did not; but that he was ever Bishop of Rome is impossible, for he could not become *a Bishop without ceasing to be an Apostle*." Such a tissue of negations is not often met with in the compass of a few lines, and yet every one of which is flashingly untrue. Let me refer the worthy Doctor to a pamphlet, "Was St Peter ever at Rome?" in which is detailed a series of historical proofs for that fact, and for other analogous matter.

To return now to our subject, we may adduce, by way of confirmation, the words of Jahn, who, in his Biblical Archæology, thus writes: "In the Bible kings are called shepherds; an appellation by no means ignoble, but on the contrary highly honourable and sublime. This name is often given to God himself in the Old Testament, and means overseer and governor."—*Perrone De Petri Primatu*, cap. i. sect. ii.

In the oldest classical writers, such as Homer, Xenophon, Sophocles, and Euripides, kings and chieftains are described as "the shepherds of the people." In the Old Testament the same idea perpetually occurs, especially when speaking of David, and contrasting his early occupation of watching his father's flocks, with his subsequent appointment to rule over God's

[1] Page 28. [2] Page 68.

people.[1] It is a favourite image with the prophets, to describe the rule of the Messiah, and of God over his chosen inheritance, after it should be restored to favour.[2] And our blessed Redeemer himself adopts it, when speaking of the connection between him and his disciples—his sheep that hear his voice and follow him. In the writings of the Apostles we find at every step the same idea. St Peter calls Christ "the Prince of Shepherds,"[3] and tells the clergy to *feed* the flock which is among them; and St Paul warns the Bishops whom he had assembled at Ephesus, that they had been put over their *flocks* by the Holy Ghost,[4] to "*rule* the Church of God." Thus his Eminence, Cardinal Wiseman, on the Supremacy. Hence the commission to feed the flock is a commission to govern and direct the flock: but as Peter received from Christ the unrestricted commission to feed the entire flock—the *Sheep* as well as the *Lambs*—it follows as an inevitable inference, that Peter received unbounded authority over all—"the pastors teaching and the people taught"—and, consequently, was invested by Christ himself with primacy of power and supremacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church. Therefore, independent of all traditionary testimony, and upon the clearest and best defined principles of critical *exegesis*, the Supremacy of St Peter is demonstrated from Scripture alone; and thus is exploded the figment of the Professor of Biblical Criticism, "that the Papal Supremacy is without *proof from Scripture!*"

Easy would it be for us to bring forward the united testimonies both of the Western and the Eastern Churches, to corroborate our position, but we fear prolixity. Our adversaries *well know*—despite of some desperate efforts at mis-translation—that the ancient Fathers of the Church unanimously defend all Catho-

[1] 2 Kings v. 2..
[2] Isaiah xl. 11.
[3] 1 Pet. v. 4.
[4] Acts xx. 28.

lic doctrines. Hence it is that they try so ingeniously to depreciate their authority. The High Church party laboured long and earnestly to promote the study of patristic literature, but found, to their grievous disappointment, that the Fathers both of the Greek and Latin Churches were so *perfectly inexorable* in their writings, as *to refuse point blank* to buttress up the tottering fabric of Anglicanism. No wonder, then, that of late, both at Oxford and Cambridge, they should *cease to be held in such favour*, on account of their *uncompromising character*. The Low Church party, or the Calvinistic School, as developed in Scotland, is in general opposed to the study of the Fathers, from a kind of *intuitive perception*, that all their writings inculcate the absolute necessity of being in communion with the Apostolic Roman See, and cut at the root of heresy and schism under its every germ. Besides, there would be this additional *danger* from the study of Patristics, that sincere minds would most naturally become imbued with ancient doctrine, to the utter rejection of all modern religious theories. If so, what would result again, but what we have seen already, that the most gifted, the most learned, and the most virtuous of the Protestant Establishment would listen, like obedient children, to the voice of their holy mother who had been so long to them a stranger, and would then be received into the pale of her communion.

Here I cannot forbear laying before you a citation from the writings of the great Abbot of Clairveux. In his book "De consideratione," which he addressed to the then reigning Pope Eugenius III., he told that Pontiff some salutary truths. His testimony on that very account is, critically speaking, the more valuable, as it shews he could adopt the language of remonstrance, although firmly believing in the Primacy of the Holy See. Thus does St Bernard

proceed in a strain of reasoning, beautiful as it is striking.[1]

"Most Holy Father, you are he to whom the Keys were given: to whom the sheep were intrusted. There are indeed other gate-keepers of heaven, and pastors of the flocks: but you have inherited both titles in a sense far different and more sublime. They have each of them their respective flocks, severally assigned to them: all have been intrusted to you, *one flock to one man.* Nor are you the shepherd of the *sheep alone*, but of the *shepherds also:* the one *pastor of all.* Do you ask me how I prove this? From the word of the Lord. For to which, I do not say of the Bishops, but of the Apostles themselves, were all the sheep committed so absolutely and unreservedly? If thou lovest me, Peter, feed my sheep—*What sheep?* The people of *this* or *that* district, city or kingdom?—'My sheep,' he says—who does not manifestly see, that He did not designate *any*, but assigned them *all* to him? None are excepted where no distinction is made. The other disciples were perchance present, when intrusting all to one, He recommended *unity to all*, in *one flock*, and *one shepherd:* according to that passage, "my dove is one, my beautiful one, my perfect one." Again.[2] "Other sheep I have, that are not of this fold: them also I must bring: and they shall hear my voice: and there shall be made one fold and one Shepherd." In these words did the divine Shepherd foretell the union that eventually should take place of the Jews and the Gentiles in His Church. It is true that this was not be effected by Him personally, since the special object of *His* mission had reference to the lost children of the house of Israel. But *He* was to accomplish it through the medium of his apostles and their successors, who were to continue the work of

[1] Lib. ii. de Consid. cap. iii. [2] John x. 16.

the ministry, and who, from the east to the west—from the north to the south, were to labour to gather the poor stray sheep into the "*one fold of the one universal Shepherd.*"

The great Bishop of Geneva, St Francis of Sales,[1] is equally happy in representing the peculiar prerogatives of St Peter, under the various symbols found in Holy Writ. He says, "Is the Church likened unto a house? *It is placed on the foundation of a rock, which is Peter.* Will you represent it under the figure of a family? *You behold our Redeemer paying the tribute as its master, and after Him comes Peter as his representative.* Is the Church a bark? *Peter is its Pilot; and it is our Saviour who instructs him.* Is the doctrine by which we are drawn from the gulf of sin exhibited by a fisher's net? *It is Peter who casts it; it is Peter who draws it: the other disciples help, but it is Peter who presents the fishes to our Redeemer.* Is the Church represented by an embassy? *St Peter is at its head.* Do you prefer the figure of a kingdom? *St Peter carries its keys.* In fine, will you have it shadowed under the emblem of a flock and a fold? *St Peter is the shepherd—the universal pastor under Jesus Christ.*

This same good Bishop of Geneva, whose sweetness of conversation and sanctity of life could *convert* the unbelievers, when other strong minds could only *confute* them, as was said of him by the famous Cardinal du Perron, has brought together, from diverse sources, a variety of appellations by which the common Father of the Faithful is designated. The Sovereign Pontiff then is called—

The most holy Bishop of the Catholic Church	Council of Soissons of 300 Bishops.
The most holy and most happy Patriarch	Idem.

[1] Controv. Dis. 42.

The most happy Lord	St Aug. Epis. 95.
The universal Patriarch	St Leo, Epis. 62.
The Chief of the Church of the World	Innoc. ad P. P. of Counc. Mila.
The Bishop raised to the highest Apostolic dignity	St Cyp. Epis. 3. 12.
The Father of Fathers	Council of Chalced. sess. iii.
The Sovereign Pontiff of Bishops	Idem in præf.
The Sovereign Priest	Council of Chalced. sess. xvi.
The Prince of Priests	Stephen Bishop of Carthage.
The Prefect of the House of God	Council of Carthage, Epis. to Damasus.
The Guardian of the Vineyard of the Lord	Idem.
The Vicar of Jesus Christ	St Jerome, præf. in Evang. ad Damasum.
The Confirmer of the Faith of Christians	Idem.
The High Priest	Valentinian, and with him all antiquity.
The Sovereign Pontiff	Council of Chal. Letter to Emperor Theodosius.
The Prince of Bishops	Idem.
The Heir of the Apostles	St Bernard, Lib. de. consid.
Abraham by the Patriarchate	St Ambrose in 1 Tim. iii.
Melchisedeck through holy orders	Conc. de Chal. Epis. ad Leonem.
Moyses by the authority of his Office	St Bernard, Epis. 190.
Samuel by his Jurisdiction	Ibid.
Peter by his Power	Ibid.
Christ by unction	Ibid.
The Pastor of the fold of Jesus Christ	Idem Lib. de consid.
The Key-bearer of the House of God	Id.
The Pastor of all Pastors	Ibid.
The Pontiff called to the fulness of Power	Ibid.
St Peter was the Monk of Jesus Christ	St Chrysos. Hom. ii.
The Mouth and the Chief of the Apostolate	Origen, Hom. lv. in Mat.
The Chair and the principal Church	St Cyprian, Epis. lv. ad Cornel.
The Origin of sacerdotal unity	Id. Epis. iii. 2.
The Bond of Unity	Id. ibid. iv.
The Church in which resides the chief principality	Id. ibid. iii.
The Church, root and mother of all others	St Anacletus of the 1st cent. Epist. ad om. Epis. et Fideles.
The Seat on which the Lord hath founded the Universal Church	St Damasus Epist. ad univ. Episc.
The Cardinal Point, and the Chief of all the Churches	St Marcel Epist. ad Episc. Antioch.
The Refuge of Bishops	Council of Alex.
The Supreme Apostolic Seat	St Athanasius.
The Presiding Church	The Emperor Justin, in Lib. 8.
The Supreme See, which cannot be judged by any other	St Leo in nat. S.S. Apos.

The Church set over and preferred to all others	Victor d' Utique in Lib. de perf.
The First of all Sees	St Prosper in Lib. de Ingrat.
The Apostolic Fountain	St Ignatius, Epis. ad Rom.
The most sure Haven of all Catholic Communion	Council of Rome, under St Gelasius.

It would be an idle parade of gleaning, to continue a catalogue of similar appellatives, which could easily be drawn from the decrees of Councils, the writings of the apostolic fathers, and the epistles of the saints and sages in every age. We shall content ourselves with giving one more extract from the Catholic side, and then proceed to adduce the declarations of those who are *not* in communion with the Church.

Count de Maistre, in his elaborate work, "Du Pape,"[1] very happily observes, that there is "nothing in all ecclesiastical history so invincibly demonstrated, as the monarchical supremacy of the sovereign Pontiff. It was not, indeed, at its origin, what it became some centuries later; but in *this precisely* does it shew itself divine; for *every* thing that exists legitimately and for ages, *exists at first in germ, and is developed successively.*" He then cites Bossuet,[2] who speaks in the most energetic and thrilling manner.

"Peter appears the *first* in every way: the *first* in making profession of faith—the *first* in the obligation of charity—the *first* of all the apostles who saw our Saviour risen from the dead, as he was also the *first* witness before all the people: the *first* when there was question of filling up the number of the apostles —the *first* to confirm the faith by a miracle—the *first* to convert the Jews—the *first* to receive the Gentiles —the *first* everywhere. But it is impossible to say all: every thing concurs in establishing his primacy. . . . The power, divided among *many*, imports its restriction: conferred on *one alone*, over all, and without exception, it bears the evidence of its

[1] Translated by the Rev. Æneas M'D. Dawson.

[2] Sermon sur l'Unité.

plenitude. All reverence the same power, but not in the same degree, nor to the same extent. Jesus Christ commences by the *chief*, and in the person of the *chief*, developes all his power, in order that we should learn that the ecclesiastical authority, being originally centred in *one* individual, has been diffused only on the condition that it should always be reflected back on the principle of its unity, and that all they who share in it, should be inseparably connected with that See, *which is the common centre of all churches.*"

The great Bishop of Meaux proceeds in his own impassioned strain. "It is that chair—the chair of Peter at Rome—so celebrated among the fathers of the Church, in exalting which they have vied with one another, attributing to it the principality of the apostolic chair—the chief principality—the source of unity—the highest degree of sacerdotal dignity—the Mother Church, which holds in her hand the conduct of all other churches—the Head of the episcopate—whence proceeds the light of government—the principal chair, the *only chair*, through which alone all are able to preserve unity. In these words you hear St Optatus, St Augustine, St Cyprian, St Irenæus, St Prosper, St Avitus, St Theodoret, the Council of Chalcedon, and the other Councils—Africa, Gaul, Greece, Asia—the east and the west united together. . . . *Since it was the design of God to permit that there should arise schisms and heresies, there was no constitution that more firmly could sustain itself, or more powerfully bear them down.* By this constitution every thing in the Church is strong, because every thing therein is divine and united; and as each part is divine, the bond also is divine, and all together is such, that each part acts with the power of the whole. . . . For this reason our predecessors declared, that they acted in the name of St Peter, by the authority given to all the bishops, in the person of St Peter, as vicars

of St Peter; and they spoke thus, even when they acted by their ordinary and subordinate authority; because all was committed in the first place to St Peter; and because such is the correspondence of one part with another throughout the whole body of the Church, that what each bishop does according to the rule, and in the spirit of Catholic unity, the whole Church, the whole episcopate, and the chief of the episcopate, do together with him."

After this magnificent burst of eloquence, further comment would be unavailing. We shall now bring forward testimonies from the liturgies of the Russo-Greek Church, which certainly must fill us with surprise, seeing that that Church no longer acknowledges the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. Still they are exceedingly interesting, and are, as it were, the very condemnation of the schismatical church that continues to use them daily in her service. The following hymn is sung by the Russian Church:—

"O! St Peter! prince of the apostles! apostolic primate! immoveable rock of faith, in recompense of thy confession, eternal foundation of the Church: pastor of the speaking flock: bearer of the keys of heaven: chosen from among all the apostles to be, after Jesus Christ, the first foundation of the holy Church —rejoice! rejoice! never to be shaken pillar of the orthodox faith! chief of the apostolic college."—From the Prayer-Book "Akaphisti Sedmitchnii."

Again, "Prince of the apostles. . . . Thou hast been the first bishop of Rome, the honour and the glory of that very great city. On thee has the Church been consolidated."—From the "Office of the Saints." Moscow, 1813.

Again, "God said to Peter, 'Thou art Peter;' and he gave to him this name, because upon him, as on a solid rock, Jesus Christ founded his Church."—

From the Book of Rites, styled "Pholog." Moscow, 1677.

In equally glowing terms does the Russo-Greek Church speak of the successors of St Peter:—

"After the death of St Peter and his two successors, Clement held with wisdom at Rome the helm of the bark, which is the Church of Jesus Christ."—From the Office of January 15th, "Mineia Mesatchnaia."

Again, "Clement, martyr of Jesus Christ, disciple of Peter, . . . and the true heir of his throne."—From a hymn in honour of Clement, "Minei Tchethiki."

Several other equally pointed testimonies are at hand, which we forbear extracting. These, however, in their own way, go so far to vindicate the supremacy of the holy Roman Church, while they serve to confound every heretical and schismatical communion that is separated from the centre of unity.

Well does De Maistre write, when he says,[1] "If it be asked, how a Church which recites such testimonies daily, nevertheless obstinately denies the supremacy of the Pope, I reply, that men are led *to-day* by what they did *yesterday;* that it is not easy to obliterate ancient liturgies; that they are followed by *habit*, even whilst systematically contradicted; that, in fine, the blinded, at once and most incurable *prejudices*, are those of religion. All this considered, we are not entitled to be astonished at any thing. The testimonies, meanwhile, are all the more precious, that they strike at the same time the *Greek Church*, *mother of the Russian*, which has ceased to be her daughter. But the *rites*, *of the liturgical books being the same*, a moderately vigorous man can easily pierce *both churches*, *though no longer united*, with the same blow."

[1] The Pope, book i. chap. x.

In a note which is here appended, the following judicious observations are made for the enlightenment of those who believe that the churches in Russia and Greece are the same. "It is not uncommon to hear confounded in conversation, the Russian and Greek churches. *There is nothing, however, more obviously erroneous.* The *former* was indeed, at its origin, a *province of the Greek Patriarchate.* But there happened *to it*, what must necessarily happen to *every church* that is *not Catholic*, which by the force of circumstances alone, will end always by becoming *wholly dependent on its temporal Sovereign.*" How strikingly is this remark illustrated in the Anglican establishment, from the time that Queen Elizabeth threatened to *unfrock* the refractory English Prelate, to the days of her present gracious Majesty, when the almost unanimous petition of the bench of Bishops in the Hampden case, was utterly disregarded. All this proving the Anglican church to be more and more the mere creature—the absolute slave of the state. "There is then, no longer, a Greek church out of Greece; and the church of Russia is no more Greek than it is Coptic or Armenian. It stands alone in the Christian world, not less a stranger to the Pope, whom it does not acknowledge, than to the separated Greek Patriarch, who would be considered a maniac, if it entered into his mind to send any kind of order to St Petersburgh. The shadow even of all co-ordinate authority in religion has disappeared, as regards the Russians towards their former Patriarch. The church of this great people, wholly isolated, has ceased even to have a spiritual chief possessing a place in the pages of ecclesiastical history. As to the "*Holy Synod,*" we ought to entertain, in regard to each of its members taken singly, the highest consideration; but beholding them in a body, we can only see the national consistency rendered complete, by the *presence of a civil*

representative of the prince, who exercises over this ecclesiastical committee, precisely the same supremacy that the sovereign exercises over the church in general."

With regard to the Greek church in particular, these and similar testimonies in favour of the holy apostolic see are found, and still read in her liturgy. We wish this to be distinctly remembered, as it ought to *tell* upon our high church religionists in Scotland. The Scottish as well as English Episcopalians have for some time past been anxious to fraternize with the Greek Church. Now, the Greek Church admits almost the entire creed of the Catholic Church, which they do not. There are two articles of faith, however, which the Greek Church does not receive, and these involve her in the crimes of *heresy* and *schism* —of *heresy*, because she denies one of the fundamental dogmas of Christianity, viz. the procession of the Holy Ghost; and of *schism*, on account of her continued separation from the centre of unity.

It is idle for the so-called Bishops and Presbyters of the English and Scottish Episcopal denomination to deceive themselves, and *what is worse*, to deceive their followers, by *talking about their orders*. Their *orders* are a *nullity* in the eyes both of the Catholic and of the Greek Church. The Catholic Church looks upon *him*, who is styled by the *law of the land*, Archbishop of Canterbury, as a mere *layman*. In the same light does she regard those ycleped Bishops who are appointed *overseers*, not by the *grace of God* and the *favour of the apostolic see*, but by the *patronage of her gracious Majesty*, and the *favour of her prime Minister!* Those who are at all acquainted with the schism of Photius, know full well, that the Greek Church refuses to recognise the validity of mere English or Scottish ordination. In fact, as the distinguished Father Theiner, Priest of the Oratory, pointedly observes in his elaborate work, L'Eglise Schis-

matique Russe.[1] "The Russian Church—(the same may be said of the Greek)—has always regarded the followers of Protestantism, as a sort of *Pagans*, with whom it forbids the *faithful* to place themselves in service. This may be seen in the code of Alexis Michaïlowitch, in 1648."

Renouf in his letter to Mr Allies, says, "Any one who admits the orthodoxy of the Roman or Greek Churches must necessarily look upon Anglicanism as a tissue of Anti-Christian heresies."

An extract or two from the very interesting "Journal of a Tour in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Greece," by Mr Patterson, late of the Oxford School, will serve in its own way to quench the pretensions of Anglicanism. The author and his fellow traveller Mr Wynne, like Moore's "Irish gentleman in search of religion," had embarked on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, with the devout anticipation of finding the Anglican branch church grafted upon some one of the Eastern religious *trees*. His sad disappointment, let us hear from himself, in the preface:—

"My hope in the then state of my belief, was that I should find support for the 'High Church' views, in the religious state of the East. *Never was there a more signal mistake.* The attitude of the Anglican establishment *towards the Church* is indeed paralleled to a certain extent by the schismatic bodies of the East; but while they for the most part *utterly reject the Anglican claims*, they themselves afford the best examples of those sins for which *she remains cut off* from the Catholic Church. In the mirror thus held up, I saw what birth and education had disguised to me in my own communion—the essentially abnormal and maimed condition of local and national Christianity."

Again he says, "The notion that the Eastern sects

[1] Chap. xi. p. 301.

help our positions as Anglicans, seems to me quite visionary."

The following little *morceau* speaks volumes. It gently chides those Episcopalians in England and Scotland who have *assumed to themselves* the name "*Catholic:*"—*for no one else would give it to them*—who talk of their clergymen as "Priests," and of the communion service as a "celebration." These designations are all misnomers, and quite out of place, when applied to the empty services of Scottish or English Episcopacy. The *unreality* of the whole system is thus laid bare in a few words:—

"We walked up to the Catholic Convent (at Girgeh in Egypt), and were most kindly received by the Franciscan missionary. He had with him a friend, who lives about three hours from here, and seemed a very intelligent and well informed person, and like the Father himself, an Italian. Of course one of the first questions was whether we were *Catholics?*—We answered in the affirmative: and the Padre asked whether we were Priests, as he had heard that mass was celebrated on board our boat? I said that W. was a *Priest*, and *celebrated:* upon which he begged us to stay, and that W. should *celebrate* in his Church. He also asked me, whether he had the *license* to celebrate from Rome, or from his Archbishop? . . . All this convinces us that it is absolutely necessary in future to renounce the name of Catholic in intercourse with Catholics, who, of course, cannot conceive persons *out of communion* with them taking it."

Easily could we cite now, were it necessary, the testimonies of many distinguished Protestants, who concur with the learned Grotius in declaring,[1] "that without the primacy of the Pope, there would be no longer any means of putting an end to disputes, and of determining points of faith."

[1] Votum pro pace.

Yes! without this central and rallying point there would be nothing but religious confusion in Christendom—without this grand principle of church organization there would be no order, and consequently no unity in the "Household of Faith." Thanks to God's kind providence it hath been otherwise ordained, and in the "One Fold of the One Shepherd," there is peace—there is happiness—there is security: *elsewhere* these inestimable blessings are to be sought for in vain.

The present illustrious Bishop of Baltimore, from whose work on the Primacy I have already quoted, sums up thus beautifully upon this most important subject:—"The wisdom of Christ in appointing a ruler and pastor under himself, to confirm and unite the brethren, is obvious. Order can be maintained in a body of men only by some authority exercised by *one*, whatever be its origin, or its limits: and that authority should be proportioned to the importance of the objects to be attained, and the number of persons to be directed or governed. A certain precedency of rank may suffice in a body, where objects dependent on the will of the members are at stake: but where high interests, independent of the fluctuating views of men, are in question, a binding authority, *divinely constituted and guarded*, is necessary. Even among the apostles there was evidently a certain precedency exercised by Peter, *whilst our Lord was present.* When he had withdrawn from earth, and the apostolic band was augmented by a large number of Bishops, and the Church was spread throughout many nations, every appearance of unity would soon have vanished, had there not been a central authority around which all might gather. This became still more necessary, when the apostles closed their career, and their successors were multiplied and scattered to the utmost bounds of civilization, and beyond it. The confusion of tongues would have ensued, had there not been *a divinely constituted Leader. The*

professed subjection of all to Christ would not have restrained the vagaries of human opinion, or preserved the harmony of believers. Without an infinitude of miracles, in proportion to the number of professors, and the diffusion of religion, there would be no order, no unity, no faith; and the evidence which our Lord referred to, for convincing the world that He was sent by the Father, namely, *the union of His disciples in the profession of revealed truth*, would have been utterly wanting. Whilst Christ was visibly present, the disciples gathered around Him, and were one family, He being the Head: when He was about to withdraw His visible presence, *He left Peter* at the head of his brethren, pastor of the fold, and ruler of the kingdom. To this divine arrangement, we owe the preservation of the revealed truths, and the unity of the Church."

III. THE SUPREMACY EXERCISED.

Having demonstrated that the supremacy was *promised*, and that the supremacy was *instituted*, we proceed now to shew how frequently it was exercised by the prince of the apostles. Christ Jesus having accomplished the great end of his high and holy mission upon earth, ascended to his Father and his God. Before his departure he had put all in order—he had made every arrangement for the complete carrying out of the work of the ministry—he had declared who were to *teach*, and who were to be *taught*, and he had announced to all the indispensable necessity of listening to his *Church*. "And if he will not hear the *Church*, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican."[1] *His Church* he had founded upon a rock, and

[1] Mat. xviii. 17.

that rock was *Peter: His Church* was likened to a kingdom; and the keys of that spiritual kingdom he delivered to his viceroy, and that viceroy was *Peter: His Church* was assimilated to a sheepfold, and the care of the lambs and of the sheep he gave to his principal shepherd, and that shepherd was *Peter: His Church* was his mystical body, and the head of that body he constituted *Peter*. We have only to open the New Testament, and we shall see how *Peter*, knowing and feeling the responsibilities of his sacred office, proceeded at once to discharge the onerous duties which came within the sphere of the *Primacy*. In turning over the pages of the inspired volume, we cannot fail to observe the prominent part which Peter acted in every crisis, and under every emergency.

After the *ascension* of our blessed Lord, the very first step which he took in his official capacity, as Head of the Church, was to fill up the place left vacant in the Apostolic College, by the treasonable apostacy of Judas.

"In those days, Peter rising up in the midst of the brethren, said: .... Men, brethren, the Scripture must needs be fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost spoke before by the mouth of David concerning Judas .... who was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry. .... *His bishopric let another take.* Wherefore of these men who have companied with us, all the time that the Lord Jesus came in and went out among us. ... *One* of these must be made a witness with us of his resurrection."[1]

Here Peter directs the attention of his brethren to the prophecy that had been made in regard to the treachery of the fallen apostle: he declares that another must be appointed to the bishopric, and he announces from amongst whom the selection is to be made. He was perfectly authorized to have named

[1] Acts i. 15.

the successor to Judas in the apostleship, but he abstained from so doing, not from any defect of power, but rather to afford an example of its moderate use. This is the view which the great Bishop of Constantinople takes of the case.

In his third homily, St John Chrysostom says: "Peter having received from Christ the care of the flock, and being the leader of the apostolic college, is always the *first* to speak. Why did he not himself *alone* beg of the Lord to give him some one in the place of Judas? Why do not the brethren of themselves proceed with the election? Behold how he does all things with the general consent, nothing authoritatively, nothing imperiously—*Men, brethren*, he says. Since Christ called his disciples brethren, still more should *he* style them such. Wherefore he addressed them, all being present: Behold the dignity of the Church, and its angelic condition. ... *Could not Peter himself have chosen the individual? Most certainly.* But he abstains from doing it, lest he should appear to indulge partiality. He is the *first* to proceed in this matter, because *all have been delivered over into his hands:* for to him Christ said: Thou being converted, *confirm thy brethren.*"

Let us just follow for awhile the course of events as narrated by the evangelist. The apostles leave the place of assembly filled with the Holy Ghost. They go forth to the streets of Jerusalem, and they confound the natives as well as the strangers who at that time were there "out of every nation under heaven," by speaking to them in their own "tongues, the wonderful works of God." And they wondered, saying, "Are not all these that speak Galileans?"[1] Who is now to answer them? who is to speak on the part of the apostles? who is the *first* to preach after receiving the Holy Ghost? who is the *first* to announce to the con-

[1] Acts ii. 7.

gregated multitude to "do penance and be baptized every one of you in the name of Christ Jesus?" It is *Peter*, the prince of the apostles; and the Lord blessed his first sermon by adding to the Church "in that day about three thousand souls."

Time went on—some years passed away, and the Gospel is to be preached to the Gentiles as it had been to the Jews: all the nations of the earth are to partake of the salvation purchased on Calvary. Who, then, is the *first* to instruct the Gentiles, and to convert them to Christianity? It is again *Peter*, whom God himself by a vision authorized to baptize Cornelius the Centurion, and who was to preach to the unbelievers the baptism and faith of Christ crucified. "While Peter was yet speaking these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the word. And the faithful of the circumcision, who came with Peter, were astonished, for that the grace of the Holy Ghost was poured out upon the *Gentiles* also."[1]

The apostles had received the power of working miracles as a proof of their divine mission. Who, then, is the *first* to exercise that heavenly prerogative? It is *Peter* who works the *first* miracle in healing the sick, and raising the dead.

In the Acts of the Apostles[2] we read—"Now Peter and John went up into the temple, at the ninth hour of prayer. And a certain man who was *lame*—seeing them—asked to receive an alms..... But Peter said: Silver and gold I have none: but what I have I give thee: In the *name of Jesus* of Nazareth, *arise and walk*." He then preached aloud the glad tidings of redemption, and "five thousand" souls were added to the Church.

Again,[3] "And he found there a certain man named Eneas, who had kept his bed for eight years, who was ill of the palsy. And *Peter* said to him: Eneas, *the Lord Jesus Christ healeth thee, arise.*"

[1] Acts x. 44. [2] Chap. iii. 1. [3] Acts ch. ix. 33.

Again,[1] In Joppe, there was a certain woman, named Tabitha, "full of *good works*, and *alms deeds* which she did. And it came to pass that she was sick and died. . . . And forasmuch as Lydda was nigh to Joppe, the *disciples hearing that Peter was there, sent unto him* two men, desiring *him* that he would not be slack to come unto them. And Peter rising up went with them. . . . Peter *kneeling* down prayed, and turning to the body he said: *Tabitha, arise.*"

The rulers of the world lay violent hands upon the apostles, and Peter is the *First* to proclaim, in chains and before the tribunal, that *there is no salvation in any other name*, but *in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.* "Then *Peter*, filled with the Holy Ghost, said to them: Ye princes of the people and ancients, *hear.*"

Herod persecutes the apostles, and *Peter* he casts into prison. The whole Church is thrown into mourning, thus deprived of its *visible Head*, and prayers without ceasing are poured forth by the faithful to heaven in his behalf. An angel is sent by God to loose his chains, and set the noble captive free.

Peter, as head shepherd, was ever watchful over all the members of his flock. Ananias, and Sapphira, his wife, had been guilty of fraud. The chief pastor denounces the iniquity, and they "fell down and gave up the ghost." Acts v.

Simon, the sorcerer, wished to "purchase the gift of God with money:" Peter is the *first* to execrate the *Simoniacal* proposal. "Keep thy money to thyself to perish with thee." Acts viii. 20.

Now, these may be considered as minor acts which so *far* tell in favour of Peter's chief apostolate, because they shew that he took the lead among the apostles, yet still more positive proofs are at hand.

The unity of the Church was threatened—division was making its appearance—considerable sensation

[1] Chap. ix. 36.

was created at Antioch, in consequence of certain Judaizing Christians, who seemed to require that all converts from the Gentiles should submit to the rite of circumcision, and to other observances of the Mosaic law. The circumstance was rather serious, for two of the apostles had expostulated with them in vain. "Paul and Barnabas had no small contest with them:"[1] but failed to make them acquiesce in their judgment. It was therefore resolved upon that they, "and certain others of the other side, should go up to the apostles and priests to Jerusalem, *about this question.*" Here, then, was the tribunal of appeal: to *this tribunal* all of necessity were to bow. There was no alternative whatever—either to submit to the decision of the Church speaking authoritatively in her *first council* of Jerusalem, or to be reputed as "the heathen or the publican."

"The apostles and ancients assembled to consider of this matter. And when there had been much disputing, Peter, rising up, said to them: Men, brethren, you know that in former days God made choice among us, that by *my* mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel, and believe. And God, who knoweth the hearts, gave testimony, giving unto them the Holy Ghost as well as to us: and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Now, therefore, *why tempt you God*, to put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? But by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we believe to be saved, in like manner as they also."

The account here furnished in the 15th chapter of the Acts is most important. The apostles and ancients had convened together to perpend the subject in question. Peter, as head of the Apostolic College, presides over the august assembly, and after the mat-

[1] Acts xv. ii.

ter had been examined in its various bearings, he rises up to pronounce the final decision. In a strain of inspired eloquence, he proceeds to remind the venerable assembly that *he* had been selected to announce the Gospel to the Gentiles, and that God had showered down his graces upon them. He goes on to state how objectionable it would be to impose unnecessary burdens upon the brethren by requiring the observance of the ceremonial law which was already abrogated, and he declares that the great fundamental point to which the attention of the Gentile and the Jew should be directed, was salvation to all, through the atoning merits of the Lord Jesus Christ.

We find that a most profound impression was made by the discourse of the great apostle. "All the multitude held their peace," and seemed to ponder over his words. As before mentioned, not a little misunderstanding prevailed at Antioch, which both Paul and Barnabas were unable to correct. This collision of opinion manifested itself afterwards during the debate in the Council of Jerusalem. But no sooner did Peter arise to speak, and to speak *ex cathedra*, than all was silence, and the result shewed itself in the great unanimity which thereupon prevailed. Now, it is impossible to read the simple narrative, as given by the inspired penman, without being struck with the tone of authority which pervades the discourse of Peter. The result abundantly proves his decided superiority, when he quashed all further dissension.

The decree which emanated from the council embodied the decision of Peter, and the suggestion of James, and was couched in the following solemn terms:—"It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, to lay no farther burden upon you than these necessary things:—That you abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled."

All Christian antiquity agrees that St Peter was

the head of the Council of Jerusalem, and the concurring circumstances on record tend to indicate that he either summoned the council personally, or consented to its convocation. We have seen how he *spoke* in the manner no one else could venture to *speak*—he spoke with supreme authority. He silenced further disputing, by his enlightened instruction, and finally pronounced the decision which was at once acquiesced in by all assembled.

Tertullian[1] describes the decision of Peter as the exercise of the power of binding and of loosing: "The decree of Peter loosed such things of the law as were set aside, and bound fast such as were retained."

St Jerome says,[2] that "Peter was the author of this decree."

Theodoret,[3] the celebrated Bishop of Cyrus, speaks of the controversy at Antioch as a question which Paul wished should be referred to Peter, that thereby it might be settled. In his letter to Pope Leo he thus writes:—"If Paul, who was the herald of truth, the organ of the Holy Spirit, had recourse to the great Peter, in order to obtain a decision from him respecting the observances of the law, for those who disputed at Antioch on this subject, with much greater reason, *we* who are abject and weak, have recourse to your Apostolic See, that we may receive from you, remedies for the wounds of the Churches. For it is fit that *you* in all things should be *first*, for your throne is adorned with prerogatives."

St John Chrysostom[4] writes: "How zealous is Peter! How sensible that the flock was by Christ committed to his charge! How does he shew himself the *Chief in this Council!* as having received from Christ the charge of the flock: as being the *first* of the choir, he is the *first to speak with authority on the question:* because

[1] De pudicitia.
[2] Epis. 45.
[3] Episod Leonem.
[4] Hom. iii. in Acta.

to him *all* had been made subject. For Christ says to him: 'Do thou, being converted, confirm thy brethren.'"

Protestant writers cannot disguise from themselves the strong testimonies which we are thus able to bring from Christian antiquity to illustrate and to prove this fact. Hence many of them yield to the *pressure from without*, and write accordingly.

Cave[1] explains the words of Paul, "that he went to Jerusalem to see Peter," of his going up to that city on the occasion in question, "because Peter was the leading person in the council."

Barrow[2] admits the conspicuous part which St Peter uniformly acted. He says, "At the *consultation* about supplying the place of Judas, he rose up, proposed, and pressed the matter. At the *convention* of the apostles and elders, about resolving the debate concerning observance of Mosaical institutions, he *first* rose up and declared his sense. In the *promulgation* of the gospel, and defence thereof, before the Jewish rulers, he did assume the conduct, and constantly took upon him to be the speaker; the rest standing by him, implying assent, and ready to avow his word."

But why dwell on what is so abundantly patent to every candid mind? The sacred Scriptures invariably represent Peter as the *first* of the apostles—the chief pastor of the fold—the foundation and the head of the Church. This grand truth we must either admit, or declare aloud that there is nothing clear—nothing proved in Scripture.

However, while we uphold on the strongest grounds the official dignity of St Peter, we would wish to abstain from instituting any comparison, with regard to the relative merits, or to the personal qualifications of the Apostles. We know that they were chosen by

[1] Soee. Apos. [2] A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

Christ, and all singularly favoured. The natural talents of some may have been greater, and more highly cultivated than others. But that is beside the question. The *question* is, Who was constituted by the Redeemer the Head of his Church?

It is true that some of them have left more writings to posterity, and perhaps, during their lifetime, may have laboured more incessantly than Peter. Matthew, Mark, and Luke record, each in his own way, the history of the life and teaching of our blessed Saviour. The beloved John, from his isle of Patmos, towers aloft in spirit before the throne of God, and gives us to know, in his mysterious book of the Apocalypse, what he has seen and heard. Paul is taken up to the third heaven, and future generations will read with rapture his immortal epistles. The time will come, says Bossuet, when Rome, the city of learning, and the mistress of the arts and sciences, will feel more proud of one of Paul's unstudied letters, than of all the polished orations of her Cicero. Whereas Peter leaves nothing behind him but two short epistles. Yet Peter is the centre of unity: he is the fundamental rock of the immortal edifice of Christ's Church!

In the Apostolic age, Peter's superior rank was known and duly recognised. No one disputed that he was the *rock* of the Church—no one contended for the *keys* of his authority—no one ambitioned his shepherd's crook. The Evangelists point him out as pre-eminently distinguished by the nature of his office, and advert to the various circumstances in which he stands conspicuous. He is always mentioned as holding the *first* place, and he shews himself well worthy of his position: for he was the *first* to confess the faith—the *first* to express his obligation of love—the *first* to give an example of severe penance and renewed constancy—the *first* of the Apostles who saw Christ after his resurrection—the *first* to bear testimony to this *fact*

before all the people—the *first* to fill up the number of the Apostles—the *first* who confirmed the faith by a miracle—the *first* to convert the Jews—the *first* to receive the Gentiles—the *first* to suffer for the sake of Christianity, and to preach Christ crucified before the Judges—the *first* to call a general council, and to declare what was necessary to be done: in a word, Peter was the *first* upon all occasions, and every thing cries out in favour of his Primacy.

The judicious Potter, in his work on Church Government, observes, "Our Lord appeared to Peter after his resurrection, before the rest of the Apostles; and before this, *He* sent the message of *his* resurrection to him in particular." He speaks of Peter's public mode of acting after Christ's ascension, and thus sums up,—"From these and other examples which occur in the Scriptures, *it is evident that St Peter acted as chief of the college of Apostles*, and so he is constantly described by the primitive writers of the Church, who call him the *Head*, the *President*, the *Prolocutor*, the *Chief*, the *Foreman* of the Apostles, with several other titles of distinction."

Our adversaries, however, in general, who "strain at gnats," and set aside the clearest demonstrations which tell against them, follow in the wake of the Reformers, and unblushingly assert with Luther, that "all the Apostles were equal;" and, with Calvin, that "Peter's superiority to the rest of the Apostles cannot be proved from Scripture." Now, in answer to these flippant objections, we reply:—

Firstly, We have proved that Peter *alone* was made the *rock* on which Christ's Church was built: the original text importing, "Thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my Church."

Secondly, We have proved that continued triumph was secured to the Church built on *Peter*, the *rock*: "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Thirdly, We have proved that "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" were given, in express terms, to Peter *alone:* "To *thee* will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

Fourthly, We have proved that the power of binding and loosing given to all the Apostles in common, was given to Peter *singly* and pre-eminently—"Whatsoever *thou* shalt bind—whatsoever *thou* shalt loose."

Fifthly, We have proved that Peter *alone* was charged to confirm his brethren, and that his own faith should never *afterwards* fail: "*Thou* being *converted*, *confirm* thy brethren."

Sixthly, We have proved that Peter *alone*, as supreme pastor of the fold of Christ, was commissioned to "feed the lambs, and to feed the sheep."

Now, if we take into account, by way of contrast, the powers given to the Apostles in *common*, and to Peter in *particular*, we shall find, as Allies, with great beauty and strength of sentiment, has put the case in his interesting work, "The See of St Peter," that—

1. He received many things alone—they nothing without him.

2. His powers can be exercised only by one—theirs by many.

3. His powers include theirs—not theirs his.

4. The ordinary government of the Church, promised and prefigured in the keys of the kingdom of heaven, conveyed and summed up in "Feed my sheep," that is the pastoral office—radiates from his person: the Episcopate is folded up in the Primacy.

Moreover, as to the continuance and descent of these powers, the same principle which leads all churchmen to believe, that the *ordinary powers* bestowed on the Apostles in common for the good of the Church *are continued* on those who govern the Church for ever, leads also to the belief, that the *power bestowed on Peter*, likewise for the good of the Church, *continues* on to his

successors in like manner. Indeed, part of the promise is express on this head, assigning perpetual continuance to the Church founded on Peter.

Farther, we learn in what respects the Apostles were equal to Peter, and in what he was superior to them.

They were equal in the powers of the Episcopate; they were equal also in those of the Apostolate, superadded to the former, that is, immediate institution by Christ, and universal mission, they were inferior to him in one point only, which made up his Primacy, namely, that they must exercise all these powers *in union with him*, and *in dependence on him;* he had *singly*, what they had *collectively* with him. He had promised and engaged to him *first* and *alone* the supreme government, a portion of which was afterwards promised to them with him; and after the apostolate granted to them all in common, he had the supervision of all entrusted to him *alone*. For *even they* were committed to his charge in the words, "Feed my sheep." And so he *alone* was the door-keeper, he *alone* the shepherd of the fold; he *alone* the rock on which even they, as well as all other Christians were built; in one word, *He* was their *head*, and so his *primacy* is an *essential* part, nay the crown and completion of the divine government of the Church; for the body without a head is no body." This is distinctly brought out in the relative position of the Apostles; their orders were the same, but *Peter's superior jurisdiction stands conspicuously alone.*

An objection is drawn from the Acts, chapter 8, verse 14. "When the apostles who were in Jerusalem, had heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they *sent* unto them Peter and John." Hence it is argued that Peter being thus *sent* by the apostles, was only their equal, and not their superior.

In answer to this we say that this is a mere verbal quibble; and, secondly, we say that although the verb

to send usually implies superiority in those who send, yet the word is frequently employed, where an expression of desire is only signified. A case in point will illustrate our meaning. In the book of Josue[1] we read that Phinees the High Priest of the Jews was "*sent*" by all the people to confer with the tribes of Reuben and Gad. Surely the high dignity of the priesthood was in no manner compromised, because he had gone on that embassy at the *express desire* of the people, who certainly would never have dreamed of commanding him. When the dispute arose at Antioch about the ceremonial law, the disciples "*determined* that Paul and Barnabas, and certain others of the other side, should go up to the apostles and priests to Jerusalem about this question." This is as much as to say they *sent* Paul and Barnabas—the word *determine* being equally strong. Now no one contends that these two apostles were inferior to those who had "*determined* they should go up to Jerusalem." The apostles then *sent* Peter and John to Samaria, doubtless by strongly urging upon them the expediency of that visit, and the more so, as it specially belonged to the office of the supreme Pastor to admit into the Church those inveterate schismatics as were the Samaritans, and thus for the *one* shepherd to gather the strayed sheep into the *one* fold.

It is objected, if the doctrine of Peter's supremacy and his successors be scriptural, we should find it in the Bible; but the Bible is silent on the subject, therefore it is not scriptural.

This at most is a *negative* argument, *but it is not even that:* it is a hollow objection certainly of no avail against the *positive* proof which has been adduced. But let us see how it can be made to recoil against our adversaries. The laborious Husenbeth thus happily retorts: Protestants own "the *spiritual*

[1] xxii. 12.

supremacy of a temporal prince. If *this* doctrine be an article of faith, we may reasonably expect that it would be distinctly and explicitly stated in Holy Scripture. Yet what the *thirty-nine articles* have determined on this head, the *Bible* never so much as once ever mentions. Not a hint on the topic of the *Queen's* absolute spiritual monarchy is dropped in any part of the inspired ecclesiastical history: nor is *Peter* himself, throughout his *two* epistles, or *Paul*, throughout his *fourteen* letters, a whit more communicative, *although both had very fit occasions to mention the matter, when writing on the power of kings*, (1 Pet. ii. 17, Rom. xiii. 1.) Now let our opponents take their choice, either on their own grand principle of *Bible alone*, give up the *King* or *Queen's spiritual supremacy*, or *with us admit*, that although Scripture had been totally silent on St Peter's supremacy, which, however, I have shewn that it is not, we might yet from *tradition* as well have believed it, as both *we* and *they* believe the *lawfulness* of *infant baptism*, and the *truth* of the *Scriptures themselves*." We may add also, that from *tradition alone*, we recognise the lawfulness of sanctifying the *first* day of the week, instead of the *seventh*, which was commanded by God himself in the old law to be kept holy.

It is objected that the Jewish converts could not have believed in the supremacy of Peter, since they murmured against him for having gone to the Gentiles, and eaten with them. "When Peter was come up to Jerusalem, they that were of the *circumcision* contended with him, saying: why didst thou go in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them ?[1]

This is a flippant objection, and easily removed. Peter, remembering the lessons of humility inculcated by his divine Master, meekly explained the reasons which had induced him to act as he had done: thus

[1] Acts xi. 2.

practising himself what he says in one of his epistles,[1] "Be ready always to satisfy every one that asketh a reason." True, he might have taken the high hand, and appealed to the sovereign authority of his office, but he thought it more prudent to accommodate himself to their weakness, and to show cause why he received the Gentiles into the Church. The Jewish Christians, still under the influence of early prejudices, looked upon the heathen with the greatest aversion. They were filled, however, with confusion, when Peter declared unto them that the Holy Ghost, with his sevenfold gifts, had descended upon the Gentiles in the persons of Cornelius and the members of his family. The sacred text says, "Having heard these things, they *held their peace*, and glorified God, saying, God then hath also to the Gentiles given repentance unto life." The Almighty is no exceptor of persons; and the circumstances of race, of caste, and of country, which eve now have a miserable influence upon weak minds, can never for a moment be regarded by that Eternal Being who has created all men to his own image and likeness. We may cease, however, to wonder that the Jewish converts murmured against Peter, when we remember that their forefathers murmured against Moyses, whose heavenly mission had been proved by the most stupendous prodigies. Human nature, when left to itself, is encompassed with infirmities, and betrays its earthly tendencies in so many different ways.

The great St Gregory[2] brings the whole affair prominently forward, where he says: "When Peter was blamed by the faithful, had he regarded the *authority* which he had received in the Holy Church, he might have answered, that the *sheep* should not dare reprove their *shepherd*, to whom they had been intrusted. But if on the complaint of the faithful, he had made

[1] 1 Peter iii. 15. [2] Lib. xi. ep. x.

mention of his own power, he would not truly have been the teacher of meekness. He appeased them, therefore, in an humble manner, and in the case for what they blamed him, he even brought forward witnesses: 'These six brethren came also with me.' Since then the Pastor of the Church, the Prince of the Apostles, he who performed in an extraordinary manner signs and miracles, did not disdain humbly to give an explanation of the conduct for which he was blamed, how much more should we who are sinners, when we are blamed for any thing, be ready to appease our censors by humble explanation?"

An objection is urged from the Epistle to the Galations,[1] that Peter and Paul had distinct missions—the one over the Gentiles, the other over the Jews, and that therefore Peter's superintendence did not extend over all. To Paul "was committed the Gospel of the *uncircumcision*, to Peter was that of the circumcision."

One slight explanation in reply, will destroy at once this flimsy objection. If we remember the promises of Christ to Peter—if we recollect that to Peter as supreme Shepherd of the Fold was committed the guardianship of the lambs and the sheep—if we take the fact into account that Peter admitted Cornelius and his family into the church, we must admit that Peter's superintendence was universal, and was to remain uncircumscribed. No doubt that Paul was called in an extraordinary manner to be the Apostle of the Gentiles,—to preach the Gospel to the *uncircumcised*—and that Peter had a special charge over the Jews; still Peter's general commission over the entire flock is undeniable, as has been amply proved, and was never to be superseded.

Bloomfield observes: "St Peter was chiefly but not entirely occupied by the Jews, and St Paul chiefly,

[1] Chap. ii 7.

but not wholly with the Gentiles." The special sphere of St Paul's labours, and the field of action particularly assigned to the different apostles, beautifully harmonize with St Peter's presidency, and general supervision.

Another objection, popular as it is trite, is invariably brought forward. It is from the epistle of St Paul to the Galatians, chap. ii. 11, " But when Cephas was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed"—thereby intimating that Paul rebuked Peter for withdrawing from familiar intercourse with the converted Gentiles, lest he should offend the Jews who had arrived at Antioch.

Now let it be observed, in the first place, that before the objection could hold good, it would be necessary to ascertain distinctly, that the *Cephas* of whom St Paul speaks was in reality St Peter. It is worthy of note, however, that Clement of Alexandria denies the fact, and strenuously contends that this Cephas was one of the 72 Disciples. See Eusebius, Historia Eccles. Lib. 1. cap. 12. For he says, that St Paul was in the habit of calling that apostle by his own name Peter—that he so styled him in the eighth verse of the same chapter, and that no reason can be assigned, why he should fall back on the old appellative *Cephas*. The learned priest Zaccharia in his Dissertations, shows how many distinguished writers, both ancient and modern, have been led to coincide with the opinion of Clement.

But waiving this point of historical criticism—*dato sed non concesso*,—supposing that Cephas was really the apostle Peter, why then we answer, that the privileges of supremacy do not necessarily include the exercise, on all occasions, of the strictest prudence and discretion. The misunderstanding that arose between the two apostles, resulted from a difference of opinion, not affecting any doctrinal question, but simply with

respect to what was most expedient to be done under the given circumstances. St Peter thought it better to conciliate the *Jewish* rather than the *Gentile* converts, although by so doing he tampered with that Christian liberty by which we were freed from the ceremonial law. St Paul, on the other hand, with his characteristic ardour, openly blamed the imprudence of St Peter in withdrawing himself from the table of the Gentiles, for fear of giving offence to the Jewish converts, and said, that this was "not walking uprightly unto the truth of the Gospel." Thus did he remonstrate with Cephas—"If thou being a Jew livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not of the Jews, how dost thou compel the Gentiles to follow the way of the Jews."

Granting, then, for the sake of argument, that the Cephas here mentioned was St Peter, and that he was openly rebuked by St Paul, what then? Did St Peter in consequence cease to be the chief of the apostles and the head of the church? Or did St Paul deny that the supremacy was any longer vested in St Peter? Most assuredly not. If a superior should fall into a mistake, it is not only allowable but praiseworthy for an inferior to admonish him, not forgetting, of course, the respect due to his office. Thus the faithful general Joab strongly expostulated with David King of Israel,[1] and yet acknowledged *him* as his *Sovereign*. The great abbot of Clairvaux spoke his mind most flatly to Pope Eugenius III. and never for a moment thought of calling in question his *supremacy*. We Catholics of the British Empire—*forming one third of the population of these Islands*—may and do with our whole heart denounce the shameful iniquity of that abortive enactment, the so-called *Ecclesiastical Titles Bill*, which has received the sign manual of her Majesty, without questioning her right to be our lawful Queen.

[1] 2 Kings, xix. 5.

Our adversaries, however, are driven to extremes, since they grasp at every shadowy objection which may give a colour of plausibility to their sophistry.

There are other ancient writers, however, who frankly admit, that the Cephas in question was in reality St Peter, and thus write under this conviction.

Tertullian[1] says: "Paul reproved Peter for no other reason, *than the change of his mode of living*, which he varied according to the class of persons with whom he associated, *not for any corruption of divine truth.*"

Augustin writes:[2] "A just *liberty* is to be admired in Paul, and holy *humility* in Peter."

Gregory, the Great exclaims:[3] "Behold he is reproved by his *inferior*, and he does not disdain the reproof: he does not call to mind, that he has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

Now although Paul "withstood Cephas to the face, because he was blameable," for having done what displeased the Gentiles, and was inconsistent with Christian liberty, still he did not forget the dignity of Peter's office. In the same epistle to the Galatians he tells us,[4] that he had gone to Jerusalem to visit Peter—a visit which the ancient writers look upon to have been paid out of deference to Peter's high official position. "After three years, I went to Jerusalem to see Peter, and I tarried with him fifteen days."

The great archbishop Chrysostom views the matter in this light.[5] "Peter was the organ and prince of the apostles: wherefore Paul went up to see *him* in preference to the rest." Again,[6] "After so many illustrious acts, although he stood not in need of Peter ... he goes up to him as a superior and elder, and he had no other motive for the visit, but merely to see Peter. Remark how he pays them due honour, and regards himself not

[1] Lib. Cont. Marcion. [2] Epis. 21. [3] Lib. in Ezech.
[4] Chap. i. 18. [5] Hom. 87, in Joan. [6] In cap. ad Gal.

only as no better, but not even as equal to them. This is evident from his journey: for as many of our brethren now travel to visit holy men, so Paul likewise with similar disposition went up to Peter. This was even much more humble on his part: for men now travel for their own improvement, but this blessed apostle went to learn nothing, and to be set right on no point, but for this only motive, to see him and honour him by his presence. He uses the term: ἱστορῆσαι—to *become acquainted with* Peter: not ἰδεῖν—simply *to see* Peter. He went to become intimately acquainted with him, as visitors seek to know thoroughly great and splendid cities."

It is still objected that the very words addressed by Peter to his fellow-labourers in the ministry, imply an equality of position.[1] "The ancients, therefore, that are among you, I beseech, who am myself also an ancient and a witness of the sufferings of Christ."

To this we answer with Archbishop Kenrick, that the "term πρεσβυτερους—presbyters, here rendered *ancients*, was then applied to Bishops, whom St Peter addressed, declaring himself their fellow Bishop, συμπρεσβυτερος. Perfect equality cannot be meant by this expression, since, as an Apostle, he was certainly superior to a local Bishop. The character of Bishop is undoubtedly the same; but the *jurisdiction of an Apostle*, being universal, far exceeds that of him who is charged with a special flock, as all must acknowledge. There can be no doubt, then, that the text is consistent with the superior authority of the sacred writer. The very fact of his general address to the *Bishops*, whom he exhorts, and entreats them to perform their pastoral duties in an humble, exemplary, and disinterested manner, affords no slight presumption of his general superintendence and control. His

[1] 1 Pet. 5.

exhortation suits the chief pastor of the flock :—'Feed the flock of God which is among you: taking care *thereof* not by constraint, but willingly, according to God: neither for the sake of filthy lucre, but voluntarily: neither as domineering over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart. And when the prince of pastors shall appear, you shall receive a never fading crown of glory.'"[1] *Grotius has well remarked that this epistle is worthy of the prince of the Apostles.*

"Paul instructed Timothy and Titus, his own disciples, whom he had with *his own hands consecrated Bishops:* at Miletus he addressed the Bishops, who came from Ephesus, who were in like manner his special disciples: as an *Apostle* he could direct his admonitions to any *Bishop:* but it seems not without a special design of the Holy Ghost, that Peter, writing to the strangers—proselytes to Judaism *first,* and *then* to Christianity, dispersed through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, should have given solemn injunctions to all the Bishops of those countries on the duties of their charge."

But it is high time to make an end of these objections, and thus to wind up the third point, which we have endeavoured to prove. As we have seen the Supremacy *promised* and *instituted,* so have we seen the Supremacy duly *exercised.* Let it be always borne in mind that the *privileges of Church government* were not to remain in abeyance, but rather to be brought into action *when* and *where* required. Now the *Supremacy of Peter* stands prominently forward as one of the most glorious *privileges* with which Christ has adorned his Church. In fact, it is so essentially identified with the well-being of the Church, that without it all would be *confusion,* but with it all is *regu-*

[1] 1 Pet. 2–4.

larity. Without the Supremacy of Peter, there would be no *unity* in the Church, and without *unity* there could be no *catholicity. Take away that Supremacy*, and the Church ceases to be *One.* She ceases to be *Catholic;* for catholicity without unity is an absolute impossibility. *Take away that Supremacy*, and the Church sinks from her high position—she becomes the *Church for the nation*, and is no longer the *Church for the world.* She would thereby lose her cohesive and consolidating principle—the key-stone of the arch would be removed—and the Church would thus be parcelled out into a thousand and ten thousand different sections. *Take away the Supremacy* of Peter, and you destroy the centre of *unity*—of *universality:* you set aside the focus where the rays of spiritual life and heat are collected together: you overturn the axis on which revolves the whole machinery of Ecclesiastical organization: you pull down the chief pillar which sustains the wonderful fabric of the Redeemer, and instead of having, what you now possess, a structure of surpassing loveliness which ravishes the eye, and leads captive the heart, you would then have nothing but a heap of mouldering ruins, in which all the beauteous proportions of her divine architecture would be utterly lost.

Take away the office of Supreme Pastor, and who is to "feed the Lambs and the Sheep"—who as *Head Shepherd* is to nourish the flock of the *one fold*, with the pure milk of holy doctrine—who is to prevent it from browsing on poisonous pasturage—who is to guard it from those *wolves in sheep's clothing*, which are prowling about for its destruction?

Take away the office of Chief Ecclesiastical Ruler, and who is to take precedence in Christendom,—who is to convoke a General Council,—who is to preside on such occasions,—who is to receive appeals, to settle disputes, to pronounce censures, to absolve from excommunications—in a word, to govern the "holy

Churches—to propagate religion in those nations "sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death,"—to ordain single-minded Pastors for the conversion of souls—to consecrate single-hearted Bishops to watch over the priests and the people—to establish *new diocesses*—to erect a *new Hierarchy*, as has been the case in England—to revive an old one, as might be the case in Scotland—to foster an ever-faithful one, as has always been the case in Ireland?

Take away the office of the Primacy, and where is the *rock* on which Christ built his Church, and where is the *Church* against which the gates of Hell were not to prevail? Where is the "pillar and ground of truth"[1]—where the "shield of faith to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one?"[2]

No! the Church of Christ cannot do without the Supremacy, and the souls of men cannot do without the Church. The Church exists for the benefit of men, and the Supremacy exists for the benefit of the Church. *We speak of things as they are, not as they might be.* God might have ordained otherwise, but he has not done so. Hence, according to the appointment of God's providence, the Supremacy of Peter is part and parcel of the Christian constitution, and it can no more be violated with unhallowed hand, than, for example the Sacraments can be tampered with, or the sacred ordinances of religion can be cast aside.

The Supremacy, no doubt, is *visible*, for the Church is *visible*. It has a *soul* and a *body:* it *thinks*, it *speaks*, it *acts*, and has *acted*, the most conspicuous part on the stage of human existence for now more than eighteen hundred years! It is invariably vested in one man, and generally speaking a feeble old man, and this has become the stumbling-block of the world, and this remains the enigma which the world's children are unable to un-

[1] Ep. Tim. iii. 15. [2] Eph. vi. 16.

ravel. The march of civilization and of intellect—the progressive advances of the sciences and arts have certainly smoothed down difficulties, and have made as household words what was wrapt in obscurity before: but the *Supremacy of Peter* baffles mere human science, and still continues an insuperable barrier to all but the faithful children of Holy Church. The mathematician understands his problems, the chemist his compounds: the philosopher understands his metaphysics, and the astronomer his planets, but without the faith of a Catholic, no one can appreciate the nature of the sovereign pontificate. Yet no study can be more delightful—none more inviting—certainly none richer in its rewards. The Papacy is the grand fact of the day—*there* it stands, and has stood, from the commencement of Christianity, unchangeable in its essence, and unchanged; and there it shall stand—come weal, come wo—till time shall be no more. It burns before men's eyes as a pillar of light to illumine the darkness of the world. It is placed aloft so as to be seen from all countries, and heard in all climes. It speaks out the words of peace and good will, while it holds in its hand the triple cord of *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*, which girds the universe, and which unites the *earth* with *heaven!*

The *Supremacy* then *lives*, and upon the transitory soil of earth it must have a home. Such a home was found in Italy, upon the banks of the Tiber. It was a place which had been rendered famous by a thousand classical associations, but still more celebrated has it become by its now sacred reminiscences. Yes! Rome was the city, the metropolis of the empire—the greatest city then in existence, and still the most interesting city of the world—that the apostolic fisherman of Galilee, no doubt *under the inspiration of heaven*, chose for the seat of his supremacy. How strange *and how unjustifiable must it appear to the British senators of the Parliament of* 1851, to think

How strange *and how unjustifiable must it appear to the British senators of the Parliament of* 1851, to think that an aged pilgrim from Asia, bending under the weight of years, should with staff in hand journey to Europe, and without consulting the Emperor Caligula, who then held the reins of government, should venture to knock at the gates of the imperial city, and unfurl the standard of the cross in the very centre of the Forum! *Surely no Papal aggression was ever comparable with this.* Yet so it was. Peter came *without leave of the Cæsars*, to establish Christianity upon the ruins of Paganism: he came to save the souls of the Roman people, and to sanctify the very stones themselves by converting the Pantheon and the other temples of the Heathen Deities, into Basilics for the worship of the living and of the true God. He came to plant his Primatial Chair in the midst of Pagan, but which soon should become Christian Rome—to dig the foundations of that spiritual hierarchy, whose dominion should extend far beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire—which should have no limits but the habitable globe, and no end but the consummation of the world. Surely such a man was either insane, or urged on by the spirit of the Most High. Surely such an apostle must have forgot all mere *human* prudence, and must have been prepared for every sacrifice.

Peter is so prepared! With the cross in one hand, and the crosier in the other, he carries along with him the independence of one who is ready to yield his life for truth—the glorious independence of self-immolation. And so it fell out: for a martyr he became, and for 300 years all the Roman pontiffs, save two, sealed the faith by their blood. For three long centuries the Church passed through the ordeal of the direst persecution. During those ages of sorrow she was widowed of her chief pastors in rapid succession—she suffered, she bled. Still she went on conquering and to conquer;

for, to use the language of the Fathers, the *blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.* If her supreme pastors were mowed down one after the other by the scythe of the most oppressive tyranny, the providence of heaven called up forthwith a successor to watch over the lambs and the sheep of Christ.

But upon this most interesting subject let us hear the eloquent Father Lacordaire. In one of those magnificent conferences delivered in Notre Dame of Paris, and which enraptured his audience, he thus proceeds:—"Between the Tyrrhenian Sea and the blackened summits of the Apennines, around a few hillocks, a handful of brigands built their cabins. Whilst digging the foundations of their ramparts they had found a bloody head, and the oracle had affirmed that that city would be the head of the universe: and in truth, had this handful of robbers possessed maps of the world—had they drawn, with a compass, circles upon this map, with diametrical lines of nine hundred miles in every direction, they would then have seen that *that* very spot was the centre of a multitude of peoples of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and of those whose remote countries are bathed by the waves of the Mediterranean. But instead of a compass, they extended their iron hand around them, and commenced an empire, which was to have for boundaries the ocean, the Rhine, the Euphrates, and Atlas. And after seven hundred years—after having destroyed the nationality of their neighbours—after having been satiated with blood, booty, glory, and pride, these brigands became the first nation of the universe, and had intrusted their haughty republic into the hand of one master.....This master was still alive when St Peter deliberated in what part of the world he would establish his apostolic chair. It was—will you believe it,—it was under the very eyes of *this master*, whose frown alone made the world tremble—it was in his city, *it was on the steps of his throne*, that St Peter

planted his chair, and sought his independence. But what independence will he obtain in such a place—he who pretends to an empire far vaster than that possessed by the Roman Emperors? And what an independence! He does not trouble himself about it—he carries it with him—he carries the independence of one who fears not to die for truth—the independence of martyrdom!

"Of all the pontiffs his successors, *two only during three hundred years* died in their beds; and yet it was so, because years pressed forward quicker than the sword for them; so that the first crown of the Papacy was the crown of martyrdom; its first independence, the independence which death gives to those who despise it. It was proper that the power of the Church should commence with these long sufferings. Truth ought, no doubt, to have been able to enter empires, without paying the tribute of blood; but God wished to shew what it is necessary for man to suffer, when he pretends to preach truth to men. He determined, therefore, the sequel in such a manner, that during three centuries the Church, and her first apostle at her head, shed their blood, in order to prove that they deceived not the world in proclaiming themselves to be the bearers of the word of the Most High.

"Now in what manner did the spiritual supremacy develope itself—by what means was it able to manifest itself, whilst the whole Church was subjected to the law of martyrdom? It seemed that there was an evident forgetfulness on the part of Providence—a neglect of the first and primary rules of policy. *But God does not judge like men.* It was precisely because the sovereign pontiffs had no human resources to establish their supremacy, that it was to be more authentic and more immortal. Had they experienced any protection from the Cæsars, we should be told that the Church of Rome had become the first, because it was established

in the first city of the empire, under the protection of the imperial purple; but as St Peter came to Rome, staff in hand, to be crucified—he and his successors, for three centuries—civil influence had no claim in the establishment of the pontificate. It was meet that the poor old man, shut up in the catacombs that border the Roman highways, should reign over the world. It was meet that, from the bosom of these habitations of the dead, rather than of the living, his government should be obeyed—that homage should be rendered to him—that his chair should be the principal one—that he should be the prince of pastors, the bishop of bishops: and this is what all the Fathers proclaim with one accord. Striking acts, which could deceive no one, were also requisite, in order to furnish future generations with unquestionable proofs." These we shall unfold, when we proceed to speak of the perpetuation of the Supremacy.

IV. THE SUPREMACY PERPETUATED.

We proceed now to shew how the sacred office of the Supremacy, which was instituted by the Redeemer, and *first* held by Peter, has been regularly filled, in an unbroken line by Peter's legitimate successors. We proceed to unfold the Perpetuation of the Supremacy. Let it be borne in mind that we have to deal with facts, not with theories—with facts which stand prominently forward in the pages of ecclesiastical history, and which boldly challenge the minutest scrutiny. For Christianity is a *fact*, and Catholicity is a *fact*, and the office of the Primacy, and the perpetuation of that office are *facts*—stern, palpable *facts*—so that we must grapple with them as such, and not view them as if they had no real existence in the history of the world. Against such

facts, all abstract reasoning sounds as mere declamation. These facts are to be established like all others, by the weight of testimony. The testimony which we shall bring forward for the perpetuity of Papal Supremacy will, we hope, prove most conclusive and satisfactory.

Meantime, let us observe that the Primacy was established by Christ to cement and to consolidate the unity of his Church. It really is a constituent portion of the Church herself, and, as being essentially connected with her very being, it must last as long as the Church lasts: but the Church is to last to the end of time; therefore, to the end of time, *is the Supremacy to be perpetuated.*

This is a necessary consequence from the principles already laid down. The very language which was spoken by Christ—the very ideas which he wished to convey, in his emphatic addresses to Simon Peter, give us to understand the enduring nature of his glorious Church, and the permanency of her heaven-born institutions. He spoke of his Church as the *one* fold under the *one* Shepherd; now, as the *fold* was to remain for ever, so was the *Shepherd.* He spoke of his Church as a kingdom, and the keys of that kingdom he gave to *one* ruler, who was his viceroy; but as his *kingdom* was to continue to the consummation of the world, so was his *viceroy.* He spoke of his Church as being founded on the πετρος—rock; now, as the Church was to remain all days, so was its foundation. The inspired Apostle of the Gentiles likened the followers of the Redeemer to a body having many members, but *one* head: but the body is visible, so likewise must be the head, and *the life of the body consists in its union with the head.*

The sheepfold of Christ is then *one*—the kingdom of Christ is *one*—the mystical body of Christ is *one*—the church of Christ is *one*—oneness is the characteristic feature of the religion of Christ, as it is of the works of God. All nature tends to one common centre. The Redeemer earnestly prayed for the *unity*

of his Church—that Church which was so soon to become *universal.* Now there could be no *universality* without unity, and there could be no *unity* without *one head;* and that head must be *supreme*—therefore the Supremacy. "And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in me: that they all may be one, as thou Father in me, and I in thee: that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."[1]

To conserve that unity in his Church, our blessed Saviour established the supremacy of Peter; but as he wished the Church's unity to continue, so did he wish Peter's supremacy to be perpetuated. That august office was certainly not to die with Peter, for it was not instituted merely for his individual benefit. It was not, so to speak, bound up with the person of Peter, that when he was martyred, it also was to expire. No! It was hereditary in the Church—it was heritable by entail to his successors. As the other ordinances of the Christian religion were to be handed down to posterity, so it also was to be transmitted. Why should any exception be made by *men*, since none has been made by God? Why should any one venture to say that such a privilege or such an ordinance was not to outlive the apostolic times, as if the Almighty were more anxious for the salvation of his creatures in the *first* than in the *nineteenth* century? Hence, on the self-same scriptural grounds that Protestants advocate the permanence and perpetuity of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the continued right to preach the gospel, do we demonstrate the permanence and perpetuity of the supremacy of the holy apostolic see. If they demur at our reasoning, we shew how the same objections which they bring against the perpetuity of the Supremacy will tell against the perpetuity of the Sacraments which they admit. Thus do we foil them

[1] St John xvii. 20.

with their own weapons, while we rebuke them for their inconsistency.

Here, if any where, as logicians say, do we argue *a fortiore*. If Christ considered the supremacy of Peter so necessary, even during the lifetime of the apostles, to conserve all in the unity of faith, how much more necessary did he foresee that primatial office to be for subsequent ages. In proportion as Christianity should diffuse itself among the nations, and the number of the children of Holy Church should increase, in the same proportion do we recognize the necessity of this grand combining and conservative principle of ecclesiastical organization. The Redeemer foresaw that heresies would be broached, and that schisms should burst forth—he foresaw that the faith of many of his followers would become languid, and that piety would grow cold; and are we to suppose that, having *futurity thus clearly before his eyes*, he made no permanent provision to meet the exigencies of the times—that he left not within his Church the necessary means to carry on the work of the ministry, to grapple with every difficulty, to surmount every danger, to rally those nations which might fall away from the faith, and to endeavour to bring the wandering sheep back into the unity of the fold? We cannot make such a supposition without insulting the wisdom and outraging the goodness of our blessed Lord.

Without, then, the *Supremacy perpetuated*, the Church could not possibly have subsisted in her original integrity after the death of the apostles.

Without the *Supremacy perpetuated*, the Church would have been left, like a ship having no pilot, to steer her course through the boisterous ocean of the world.

Without the *Supremacy perpetuated*, the Church would have been in the position of an army without a general, a navy without an admiral, and thus having no head to command, the trumpet would sound in vain: no one would prepare for battle—there would be no acting in con-

cert, and there never would be the achievement of victory.

But we are not left to our own superficial reasoning upon this most important point; for tradition comes to our aid—tradition, which is as universal as it is unanimous in accounting for the *institution* and the *perpetuation* of the supremacy. All the ancient Fathers with one accord have declared that the Supremacy was established by Christ to preserve the unity of his Church. To this effect you hear them crying out with St Cyprian the martyr, bishop of Carthage, who in the third century thus wrote,—"That Christ might manifest unity, he ordained by his own authority,[1] that its origin should begin with one single individual (Peter.)" You hear them in the *fourth* century, with St Jerome,[2]—"One among the twelve is chosen, that a head being constituted, the occasion of schism might be taken away." You hear them, with St Optatus, in the same century,[3]—"You cannot deny that St Peter, the chief of the apostles, established an episcopal chair at Rome. This chair was *one*, that all others might preserve unity, by the unity they had with *it;* so that whoever set up a chair against it, should be a schismatic and a transgressor. It is in this one chair, which is the first mark of the Church, that St Peter sat." You hear them, with Pacian,[4]—"That the unity of the Church springs from one head;"—with Ambrose,[5]—"Where Peter is, there is the Church;"—with Augustine,[6]—"The Church is bound up in Peter;"—with Innocent,[7]—"That the Episcopacy, and all Church authority, are derived from Peter."

In thus scanning the writings of the ancient Fathers, do we see how all of them, without exception, have

[1] De Unit. Ec.
[2] Lib. adv. Jovin.
[3] De Schis. Donat.
[4] Epis. iii. ad Symp.
[5] In Psal. XL.
[6] Serm. 137.
[7] Epis. 181.

put forward the unity of the Church as the paramount reason why Christ instituted the office of the Primacy, and why he gave to Peter supremacy over the apostles, over all the faithful, and over the universal Church. Hence, according to Patristic teaching, the supremacy of Peter and his successors is that mysterious chain which was intended to bind all the true followers of Christ in the unity of the same faith, and in the oneness of the same communion.

So impressed are Separatists with the idea of having a head or chief executive for the preservation of order among them, that every section of religionists have set up a tribunal, to which its members are bound to defer. The Kirk of Scotland, which is somewhat republican in its ecclesiastical government, has its General Assembly and moderator to regulate its affairs. The Free Kirk is similarly equipped. The Church of England, monarchical in its constitution, has her gracious Majesty to pronounce what is and what is not to be held as an article of Anglican belief. The Scottish Episcopalians have their *Primus*, who by nature of his office ranks first, and is to preside over six bishops. The Arminian Methodists, and the Calvinistic Methodists—the Baxterians, and the Brownists, and the Cameronians, and the Dunkers, and the Glassites, and the Independents, and the Moravians, and the Muggletonians, and the Quakers, and Swedenborgians, have all their peculiar constitutions.

If, then, every mere national, or quasi national Church, has a head, or chief executive, either clerical or lay, to direct its movements—if every little sect, every handful of worshippers, has its constitution—is it to be supposed that there exists not a head for the universal Church—for that Church, which is not English, nor Scottish, nor German, nor Greek, nor Russian, but which is *literally* and emphatically *Catholic*—for that Church, which has received from her

divine Founder, as an inheritance, the entire globe to instruct—that Church upon whose domain the sun never sets—which has priests and people in every country, altars in every clime—which was unquestionably the first Christian Church in the world, as most certainly she shall be the last. Yes! Deny it who may, the Catholic Church has a head, and the same she has had from the beginning. She has her supreme pontiff, who is the successor of St Peter, and who, by the inherent right of the apostolic see, is the chief pastor of universal Christendom.

Do you ask me how I prove this? I answer, that proofs more than abundant are at hand. Observe, however, that I go not now into the question, "Was St Peter ever at Rome?"[1] I treated that already in a distinct dissertation, in which I adduced conclusive testimonies from many ancient writers, to prove what only in modern times has been wantonly disputed. It is worthy of note, that during the first thirteen hundred years of the Christian era, no one ever thought of denying that St Peter was bishop of Rome, or that he both lived and died in that city; and no one now calls this great fact in question, but he who is either blinded by prejudice, or ignorant of ecclesiastical history. In truth, the most learned Protestants, such as Grotius, Scaliger, Blondel, Shrock, Bertholt, Pearson, Basnage, and Cave, have been engaged in sifting and establishing this point. Among others, we may mention the well-known name in the literary world, the distinguished Bunsen of Prussia, now ambassador at the British Court. In a work of surpassing interest, "Rome, Sacred and Profane," he, in conjunction with other erudite Germans, proves, from the most authentic historical documents, that the relics of St Peter, which repose under the high altar of his Basilica at

[1] See Lectures.

Rome, are really the venerable remains of that great pontiff and apostle.

According to the accounts of the best ecclesiastical annalists, such as Eusebius, Natalis, Alexander, Palma, and others, Peter, after the ascension of our Lord into heaven, having visited the various towns of Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, went to Antioch, in Syria, about the year 36 of the Christian era, and ruled that Church for some years. Having elevated Evodius to the episcopal dignity of the see of Antioch, he went forth to the capital of the Roman empire, and transferred thence his apostolic chair, in the year 42. He carried along with him, of necessity, his supreme authority and jurisdiction over the universal Church; and hence in his person were identified, the pontiff of Rome, the primate of Christendom, and the centre of Catholic unity.

Now, it has ever been understood, that all the essential prerogatives of power and jurisdiction which were brought to a see by its first bishop, were to be continued to his successors. That this was the case is quite evident, if we look to the four great patriarchates into which Christendom was divided, and which rank as follows—Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Rome was the first, because established by St Peter, and because his chair was there permanently planted; Alexandria was the second, which was founded by St Mark, who had been a disciple of St Peter; Antioch the third, because it had been the see of St Peter, before his removal to Rome; and Jerusalem the fourth, and which was first occupied by St James. The sacred rights which were brought to those four patriarchates descended respectively to their immediate successors. The same is to be said with regard to the other minor sees. Every one conversant with canon law, knows the recognised rule of the Church, that the essential rights of the Episcopacy descend to the lawful successor in each particular bishopric.

All Christian antiquity attests that St Peter founded the Roman Church; therefore the sacred rights of St Peter descend to his successors, the Roman pontiffs. But St Peter had universal jurisdiction over the whole Church, consequently that also descended.

All Christian antiquity calls the Roman see the *Chair of Peter*—Cathedra Petri—never the chair of Paul, or of any other of the apostles.

All Christian antiquity considered the bishop of Rome as head of the Church, as supreme governor, as occupying the place of Peter, and as his legitimate successor in the primacy.

This we shall distinctly see, when we bring forward the testimonies of the Fathers. Meanwhile let us remark, that we may gather, *indirectly* it is true, from the very epistle of St Paul to the Romans, that St Peter founded their Church. This epistle was written about twenty-four years after our Lord's ascension. After saluting "all that are at Rome the beloved of God, called to be saints," he expresses his thankfulness to God that their "faith is spoken of in the whole world." He then goes on to state, that he longs to see *them* of whom so much has been said, "if by any means *now at length* I may have a prosperous journey, by the will of God, to come unto you." It is well known that as yet he had not been at Rome; hence his anxiety to visit that Church, which had become already so celebrated.

Now who founded that Church, so renowned, whose faith, even in the apostolic days, "was spoken of in the whole world?" Obviously not St Paul, for as yet he had not visited the imperial city. Christian antiquity, I say again, points to no other but St Peter; therefore to St Peter, for having built up the holy Roman Church—the mater urbis et orbis—let the glory and the praise be given. St Paul came afterwards, and laboured in the vineyard of the Lord with St Peter at Rome. He also is mentioned by ancient writers as

having been associated with St Peter in extending the foundations of the holy Roman Church. Both apostles rivalled each other in holy zeal, and both finished their mortal career at Rome, by shedding their blood for the faith.

We are enabled to speak distinctly on these matters, from having at our command the most authentic historical records. The ancient writers of ecclesiastical history have duly chronicled the names of those who succeeded St Peter after his martyrdom.

Eusebius[1] says, "After the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, Linus was first elected bishop of the Church of the Romans."

St Irenæus,[2] bishop of Lyons, writing in the second century, says, "The blessed apostles having founded and instructed the Church, delivered over the episcopal administration to Linus, who was succeeded by Anacletus, and then by Clement, who both saw and conversed with the apostles."

It seems to be of this Clement, the third successor of St Peter, that St Paul speaks in his epistle to the Philippians, chapter 4, "who laboured with me in the gospel, and whose name is written in the book of life."

The ancient writer of the verses against Marcion[3] says, that "Linus first St Peter's chair did fill."

Optatus[4] of Milevi, who lived in the fourth century, and other ancient writers, distinctly declare, that Linus was the first pontiff who succeeded St Peter.

The old authors of the catalogues of the Roman pontiffs placed Linus immediately after St Peter.

Tertullian[5] upbraids the heretics of his time *as new religionists*, and asks them to shew the line of episcopal

[1] Hist Eccles. lib. iii. c. 4.
[2] Lib. Adv. Hæres. cap. 3.
[3] See Tertullian.
[4] Lib. Adv. Parm.
[5] Lib. de Præs.

succession of their teachers. He says how Polycarp was placed by John in the Church of Smyrna, and how Clement, ordained by Peter, afterwards occupied the apostolic Roman see. Thus does he speak,—"Let the heretics shew the origin of their churches—let them evolve the order of their bishops, in regular succession from the beginning, so that the first bishop should have either one of the apostles, or one of the apostolic men, who persevered with the apostles, for his predecessor."

In the catalogues of the Roman pontiffs, which have been furnished by most distinguished ancient writers, such as Irenæus, Eusebius, Optatus, and Augustine—men who wrote at different times, in different places, and without any previous arrangement among themselves, or mutual understanding, the line of succession in the Roman Church is distinctly noted down to their own days. The ancient catalogue of *Liberius*, so called because drawn up during his pontificate, presents the list of Roman bishops from St Peter to the year 354, in which it was compiled. Now all these writers attach the greatest importance to that unbroken succession of supreme pastors in the Roman Church. That is the first object of their solicitude. They do not refer to their own sees: that is a secondary consideration. Eusebius does not insist upon the succession of bishops in his own see of Cæsarea, nor Irenæus upon that of Lyons, nor Optatus upon that of Milevi, nor Augustine upon that of Hippo; but they all with one accord point to Rome, and to the succession of Rome's bishops. And why this? Unless the succession of the bishops of Rome was looked upon by them as a striking fact, and as a most important theological argument. All the holy fathers, then, without exception, and every ancient Christian writer, proclaim, with one voice, the Roman see to be the chair of Peter—the mother Church of all other churches—the only

Church *which teaches the true faith*—the only Church which is *conservative of true religion.*

In the foregoing catalogues, Cletus and Anacletus are both mentioned as second in succession from St Peter. Irenæus and Eusebius speak of Anacletus as following Linus. Jerome, Rufinus, and the writer against Marcion, mentioned by Tertullian, call him simply Cletus. It is most likely, that under these two names the very same pontiff is meant; and this opinion is held by Valesius, in his notes on Eusebius's history, by Tillemont, in his life of St Clement, and by Peter Constantius, in his elaborate dissertation prefixed to his edition of the epistles of the Roman pontiffs. However, this becomes legitimate matter for historical criticism, but does not in the least affect the line of Papal succession.

Let us listen now to Irenæus,[1] who has recorded the names of the Roman Pontiffs, from St Peter to the time in which he wrote. He omits the other patriarchal sees, and betakes himself to Rome, the first and greatest of all others:—"As it would be tedious to enumerate the whole list of successors, I shall confine myself to that of Rome, the greatest, and most ancient, and most illustrious Church, founded by the glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, receiving from them her doctrine, which was announced to all men, and which, through the succession of her bishops, is come down to us. To this Church, *on account of its superior headship*, every other must have recourse; that is, the faithful of all countries. They, therefore, having founded and instructed this Church, committed the administration thereof to Linus. To him succeeded Anacletus; then, in the third place, Clement. To Clement succeeded Evaristus; to him Alexander; and then Sixtus, who was followed by Telesphorus, Hygi-

[1] Adv. Hær. 1.

nus, Pius, and Anicetus. But Soter having succeeded Anicetus, Eleutherius, the twelfth from the apostles, now governs the Church."

Clement, then, was third in succession from St Peter, and was bishop of Rome, in the *first* century. During his pontificate, a schism broke out at Corinth. As supreme governor of the universal Church, he addresses a letter to the Corinthians, and sends also his apostolic delegates among them to settle their differences. Now observe, that Corinth was far distant from Rome, but nigh to Ephesus. At the very time of which we speak, the beloved disciple, St John, was residing at Ephesus. Yet it is not the bishop of Ephesus, but the bishop of Rome, that interposes his authority, to heal the breach in the Church of Corinth. Is not this proof positive, that even during the lifetime of the apostles, the Roman pontiffs, as successors of Peter, not only *possessed*, but *exercised* unlimited jurisdiction, over the whole Church? The epistle of Pope Clement to the Christians of Corinth, is justly reputed as one of the most valuable monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. But other cases equally pointed are at hand.

Victor was the fourteenth Roman pontiff, and flourished in the *second* century. In the exercise of his supremacy, he called the bishops of the Eastern Churches to account as to their manner of keeping Easter. They answered, that they followed a tradition which had been handed down to them by St John. Thereupon he ordered a council to be convoked in Judea, and threatened excommunication against those who would not abide by its decisions. The prelates of the East assembled and obeyed; and thus uniformity was enjoined and observed. Is not this, again, additional proof of the recognised power and jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs in the very earliest ages of the Church?

St Cyprian, writing in the *third* century, mentions,

that Cornelius was chosen bishop of Rome in the year 251, when "the place of Fabian, that is, *the place of Peter*, was vacant."[1] In a letter to this pontiff, he alludes to certain African schismatics, and says, "A false bishop having been ordained for them by heretics, they venture to set sail and carry letters from schismatical and profane men to the *chair of Peter, and the principal, or ruling Church, whence sacerdotal unity has arisen:* nor do they reflect *that they are Romans whose faith is extolled by the apostle, to whom perfidy can have no access.*"[2] Thus St Cyprian speaks the language of his contemporaries, while he re-echoes the declarations of his predecessors, that the Roman pontiff, being the successor of St Peter, had a care of all the Churches, and that with the *chair of Peter, sacerdotal unity* was of necessity connected.

The testimony of St Cyprian is the more valuable, from the circumstance of a misunderstanding which took place between him and Pope St Stephen. St Cyprian contended, that persons baptized by heretics were not truly baptized: St Stephen, on the other hand, announced the teaching and practice of the Church, that such were not to be re-baptized, and gave utterance to that celebrated sentence, which has since become an aphorism,—"Nihil innovetur, nisi quod traditum est." Let there be no innovation—let there be nothing but what has been handed down. Thereupon St Cyprian relinquished his own theory upon the matter, and eventually bowed to the decision of the supreme pontiff.

St Denys, pope and martyr, occupied the see of Peter about the middle of the third century. Then it was that the priests of Alexandria sent a formal complaint to the Roman pontiff, of the unsound teaching of their bishop, Dionysius. He was in consequence

[1] Epis. LV. ad Antonian. [2] Epist. ad. Cornel. LIX.

called upon by the sovereign authority of the apostolic see, to give an account of himself, which he did satisfactorily; and thus do we behold the patriarch of Alexandria abiding by the behests of the Roman supremacy.

Pope Damasus ascended the chair of Peter in the year 366. To him St Basil the Great recurs, and exposes the difficulty of his position. In order the more effectually to engage the solicitude of the holy father, he takes occasion to remind him of the kind interposition of his predecessors, the Roman pontiffs, in the affairs of the Church of Cæsarea. Thus does he write: —"From documents preserved among us, we know that the blessed Denys, who with you was eminent for his faith and other virtues, visited by his letters our Church of Cæsarea, gave comfort to our forefathers, and rescued our brethren from slavery. But our condition is now much more lamentable. Wherefore, if you are now at this time induced to aid us, soon all being subjected to the heretics, none will be found to whom you may stretch out your hand."[1]

Listen now to a beautiful passage from a letter of the learned St Jerome to the same holy pontiff, Damasus. This epistle[2] was written during his seclusion in the deserts of Syria, and is touching in the extreme, as it is most Catholic in sentiment:—"I am following no other than Christ, united to the communion of your holiness, that is, to the *chair of Peter*. I know that the Church is founded upon *this rock*. Whosever eateth the Lamb out of this house is a profane man. Whosoever is not in the ark shall perish by the flood. But forasmuch as being retired into the desert of Syria, I cannot receive the sacrament at your hands, I follow your colleagues, the bishops of Egypt. I know not Vitalis—I do not communicate

[1] Ep. lxx. ad Damas.

[2] Ep. xiv. ad Damas.

with Meletius—Paulinus is a stranger to me—*he that gathereth not with you, scattereth.*"

The illustrious saint and bishop John Chrysostom appealed to the intervention of the Roman Pontiff Celestine, and entreated his holiness to restore him to his see, from which he had been unjustly driven. "I beseech you to direct, that what has wickedly been done against me, while I was absent, and did not decline a trial, should have no effect; and they who have thus proceeded may be subjected to ecclesiastical punishment."[1] Does not this prove that the Roman Pontiffs had complete jurisdiction over the Asiatic churches, when the very Patriarch of Constantinople appealed to the authoritative intervention of the apostolic Roman see? Still more emphatically does the great bishop write when he asks—"For what reason did Christ shed his blood? Certainly to *gain those sheep, the care of which he committed to Peter and his successors.*"[2] This shews the belief that the supremacy of Peter was vested in his successors.

Let us now bring forward the testimony of another patriarch, St Cyril of Alexandria. In the most pointed manner does he rebuke the errors of the Nestorians, while he declares at the same time that all are in duty bound to obey the Roman Pontiff. "That this is so I will produce, as an ample witness, the most holy Celestine, the *Archbishop of all the world*, and the father and patriarch of the great Rome, who himself thrice exhorted you by letters to desist from that mad blasphemy, and you obeyed him not.... All, by *divine right*, bow the head to Peter; and the princes of the world obey him, as they would the Lord Jesus. We also, who are members, ought to adhere to our head, the Roman Pontiff, and apostolic see."[3]

Easily might we select, from the works of other an-

[1] Ep. ad Innoc. [2] Lib. de sacerd. [3] In Encom. S. Mar.

cient writers, a multitude of similar passages, which, in as far as Christian antiquity is concerned, would convincingly prove our point. But this is altogether unnecessary, as the testimonies already adduced are abundantly *telling*, and speak forcibly the mind both of the Eastern and the Western Church, in the *first*, and what Separatists call the *purest ages* of Christianity. We shall sum up our quotations from the apostolic fathers by a brief extract from St Augustine,[1] the great light of the church in the *fifth* century. Observe the extreme importance which he attaches to the doctrinal decisions of Rome. "The decisions of the two councils having been already sent to the apostolic see, the rescripts have come from thence. *The cause is now finished; would that error was also ended!* Causa finita est; utinam finiatur error!"

From then what we have seen—from the many and striking testimonies which we have adduced—from the fact of priests, and bishops, and patriarchs who appealed in their hour of trial to the apostolic see—from the final decisions given by the holy Roman Church, as the *highest court of judicature* upon earth, it is certain that the supremacy of Peter and his successors, the Roman Pontiffs, was, during the first *five* ages of the church, unanimously and universally recognised. That this same papal supremacy was also acknowledged in subsequent ages by all Christendom, we shall afterwards prove.

The learned Newman, in his elaborate work on Development of Christian Doctrine, has brought into the following brief compass the salient points of the three first ages of the church, which, considered in the aggregate, serve to constitute an irrefragable argument in favour of the Roman supremacy. He says—"Faint they may be one by one; but at least they are

[1] Sermo. xi.

various, and are drawn from many times and countries, and thereby serve to illustrate each other, and form a body of proof. Thus St Clement, in the name of the Church of Rome, writes a letter to the Corinthians, when they were without a bishop; St Ignatius of Antioch addresses the Roman Church, and it only, out of the churches to which he writes, as 'the church which has the first seat in the place of the country of the Romans;' St Polycarp of Smyrna betakes himself to the bishop of Rome on the question of Easter; the heretic Marcion, excommunicated in Pontus, betakes himself to Rome; Soter, bishop of Rome, sends alms, according to the custom of his church, to the churches throughout the empire, and, in the words of Eusebius, 'affectionately exhorted those who came to Rome, as a father his children;' the Montanists of Phrygia came to Rome to gain the countenance of its bishop; Praxeas, from Africa, attempts the like, and for a while is successful; St Victor, bishop of Rome, threatens to excommunicate the Asian churches; St Irenæus speaks of Rome as 'the greatest church, the most ancient, the most conspicuous, and founded and established by Peter and Paul,' —apppeals to its tradition, not in contrast indeed, but in preference to that of other churches, and declares that 'in this church, every church, that is, the faithful from every side, must meet, or agree together—propter potiorem principalitatem — on account of its superior headship.' 'O church, happy in its position,' says Tertullian, 'into which the apostles poured out, together with their blood, their whole doctrine!' The presbyters of St Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, complain of his doctrines to St Dionysius of Rome; the latter expostulates with him, and he explains. The emperor Aurelian leaves 'to the bishops of Italy and of Rome' the decision, whether or not Paul of Samosata shall be dispossessed of the see house of Antioch;

St Cyprian speaks of Rome as 'the see of Peter, and the principal church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise . . . whose faith has been commended by the apostle; to whom faithlessness can have no access:' St Stephen refuses to receive St Cyprian's deputation, and separates himself from various churches of the East; Fortunatus and Felix, deposed by St Cyprian, have recourse to Rome; Basilides, deposed in Spain, betakes himself to Rome, and gains the ear of St Stephen. Whatever objections may be made to this or that particular fact, and I do not think any valid ones can be raised, still, on the whole, I consider that a cumulative argument rises from them in favour of the active and doctrinal authority of Rome."

In every subsequent age of the Church have we the most accredited witnesses to testify to the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs. As it would be tedious to cite many extracts from their works, we shall content ourselves by referring to two of the most distinguished schoolmen of the middle ages. In his work of transcendent merit,[1] the great Doctor St Thomas Acquinas thus writes:—

"It is plain that the supreme power of government over the faithful belongs to the Episcopal dignity. But likewise, that though populations are distinguished into different dioceses and cities, yet as there is *one Church*, so there must be *one Christian people*. As therefore in the spiritual population of *one Church*, *one bishop* is required to be the *Head* of the whole population, so in the whole Christian people, one is required to be the *Head* of the whole Church.

"Also for the unity of the Church it is required, that all the faithful agree in *faith*. But concerning points of faith, it happens that questions are raised. Now

[1] Summa Cont. Gent. iv. 76.

the Church would be divided by a diversity of opinions, *unless it were preserved in unity by the sentence of one.* So then it is demanded for the Church's unity, that there be *one* to preside over the whole Church.

"Moreover, the *Church militant* is drawn by likeness from the Church triumphant, whence John in the Apocalypse saw Jerusalem descending from heaven, and Moyses was told to make all things according to the pattern shewn to him in the Mount. Now in the *Church triumphant* one presides .... so presides one in the *Church militant.*

"Hence it is that Christ said to Peter before his ascension 'Feed my sheep;' and before his passion,' 'Thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren;' and to him alone he promised, 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' *that the power of the keys might be pointed out as to be derived through him to others, for the preservation of the Church's unity.*

"But it cannot be said, that although he gave this dignity to Peter, yet it is not derived through him to others. For it is plain, that Christ so set up his Church, that it should last for ever, according to that of Isaiah ix. 7; 'He shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it and strengthen it with judgment and with justice from henceforth and for ever.' Plain, therefore, is it that He set up in their ministry, those who then were in such a way, that *their power should be derived unto their successors* for the good of the Church unto the end of the world; especially as He says himself, 'Behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world.'

"But by this is excluded the presumptuous error of certain persons, who endeavour to withdraw themselves *from obedience and subjugation to Peter, by not recognising his successor, the Roman Pontiff, as pastor of the universal Church.*" Thus writes the Angelic Doctor as he is

styled, whose testimony is as eminent as his reasoning is conclusive.

Come we now to St Bonaventure, who, on account of his ardent charity, and prodigious erudition, is surnamed the Seraphic Doctor. Let us see what he says :—

"Our Lord Jesus Christ entrusted his Holy Church to his apostles, but principally to Peter, to whom he said specially three times, concerning the universal flock[1] of the faithful, 'feed my sheep.' But that the universal Church might be governed in a more ordered manner, the holy apostles arranged it into patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, bishoprics, parishes, and other canonical distinctions : that inasmuch as by one, or by few, the individual faithful could not be fitly provided with all things necessary to salvation, many might be called to a participation of this care, according to their several limitations, for the good of souls : and in proportion to the extent of pastoral care, each one of them too received a certain power of authority, the fulness of ecclesiastical power dwelling in the apostolic see of the Roman Church, in which the Apostle Peter, prince of the apostles, *specially sat and left there to his successors the same power.*

"But threefold is the fulness of this power, viz. in that the supreme Pontiff himself *alone* has the whole fulness of authority which Christ bestowed on his Church ; and that he has it *every where* in all churches, as in his own special see of Rome ; and that *from him all authority* flows unto all inferiors throughout the universal Church."

We abstain, for the sake of brevity, from additional quotations, which we might make from Socrates, Sozomen, Venerable Bede, Archbishop Lanfranc, and so many others who ever pointed to Rome as the centre of unity, and to the Roman Pontiff as the successor of St Peter.

[1] Tom. vii.

Another most important line of argument shall we now bring forward to witness to the continued supremacy of the Holy Roman see. We appeal to the councils that have been convoked in times of emergency, in various parts of the globe. Justly have these celebrated councils been reputed as the most authorized exponents of the doctrines of Christianity. Those glorious assemblies were constituted of the highest, most learned, and virtuous ecclesiastics, who were recognised as the living representatives of the "household of faith,"—as the witnesses pre-ordained by God, and who came at the call of the chief pastor, from the east and the west, the north and the south, to meet in congress, and to publish aloud to the universal world what were the doctrines which had been taught in their respective churches, and which had been handed down to them by their apostolic predecessors. Thus were all novelties in belief carefully excluded, and the good seed of divine truth was kept separate from the tares of error.

During the lapse of 300 years, no Council, save the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem, was convened, on account of the unceasing persecutions of the Roman emperors. But when the emperor Constantine became a Christian, and peace had been restored to the Church, then it was that she was enabled to assemble her apostolic prelates from all parts of Christendom, not indeed to enact any new article of faith, because that, so to speak, was beyond her commission, but to stem the tide of innovation, and to draw up those disciplinary decrees, for the better ordering of morality, and the fuller development of doctrine.

"The holy see entered now upon a new phasis of spiritual and temporal existence. The world had become Christian. It had been conquered by the force of martyrdom, and the grace of God. A prince mounts the throne of the Cæsars, who understands Christianity,

not only as the religion of the majority, but also as emanating from God, for the salvation of men. He recognises it; he does more. By one of those inspirations incomprehensible to men, he removes his throne to the extremities of Europe—to the shore of the Euxine, in order to leave old Rome, with her natural power, and her inexpressible celebrity, to the majesty of the supreme pontiffs; so that, from that period, *mere temporal* prince never sat enthroned in Rome. When Theodosius divided between his two sons the empires of the east and west, it was at *Milan* that the emperor held his court, and *never at Rome.* In vain the Herules and the Ostrogoths wished to establish a new empire in Italy. It was at *Ravenna* that they founded their capital. In vain did the Lombards approach Rome; for *Pavia*, not Rome, was the place of their sojourn. Kings and emperors passed no longer through Rome, but as travellers. Nevertheless the civil sovereignty of the Papacy did not as yet result from this. The popes possessed in Rome, by the departure of the emperors, only a moral sovereignty, of which they made an honourable use, by becoming the guardians of the west against barbarians. Rome, nine times taken by assault, was nine times restored from her ruins by them; and they were seen, by the power of their prayers, and the majesty of their countenance, to stop at its gates, Attila, the scourge of God." Thus speaks the eloquent Father Lacordaire.

In the year 325, the first Council was convoked at Nicœa, in Asia Minor, by the authority of Pope Sylvester. The sovereign pontiff, being unable to preside in person, deputed as his legates, Hosius, bishop of Corduba, and two priests, Vitus and Vincentius. They were his representatives, and in quality thereof, took precedence of the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, and of all the other assembled bishops. Is not this

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significant enough? Is not this proof of the primacy of the holy see? Is not this proof positive of the recognised supremacy of the Roman pontiff, when two of his legates, who were simply priests, presided upon the occasion, and sat above bishops, and patriarchs, at the great Council—the first, and the most august Christian assembly? Then it was that a canon was passed, declaring, "that the Roman Church always had the primacy;" and then "it was determined, that all these things should be sent to Sylvester, bishop of Rome." These are the words of the Council, which was composed of 318 prelates, many of whom had been suffering witnesses for the faith, and bore on their bodies the scars of their combats. Thus, in the fourth century, the great Council of Nicæa bowed before the supremacy of Rome, and by receiving the confirmation of the Roman pontiff, became ecumenical.

In 347, another Council was held at Sardica; and in the synodical letter which was drawn up and sent to Pope Julius, it says, "for this will seem the best, and by far the most fitting, if the Lord's bishops make reference from all the provinces *to the head, that is, the see of the apostle Peter.*"[2] A canon was likewise passed, that "when any bishop feels himself aggrieved, he may appeal to the bishop of Rome, who shall appoint judges to hear and decide the cause." The Council of Sardica points distinctly to Rome as the head see, and as the tribunal of appeal.

In 431 a general council was convened at Ephesus. St Cyril of Alexandria was deputed by Pope Celestine to preside—Arcadius and Projectus, bishops, and Philip, priest, being also papal legates. To this effect was a decree passed:—"It is doubtful to no one, but rather known to all ages, that holy and most blessed Peter, prince and head of the apostles, pillar of the faith, and

[1] Codex Canonum Ballerini. [2] Mansi, iii. 40.

foundation of the Catholic church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ, Saviour and Redeemer of the human race, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and that the power of loosing and binding sins was given to him; who to this very time and *for ever lives, and exercises judgment in his successors.* And so our most blessed Pope Celestine, the bishop, his successor in due order, and holding his place, has sent to this holy council us to represent him."[1] Thus was it stated that the authority of Peter lives and acts in his successors, and thus was the perpetuation of Peter's supremacy distinctly avowed.

In 451 was assembled the great council of Chalcedon. Pope St Leo the Great sent Paschasinus and Lucentius, bishops, Boniface and Basil, priests, to act as his legates. When the rescript of Leo, condemning the heresy of Eutyches, was read, the whole assembly cried out with one voice, "This is the faith of our fathers; Peter has thus spoken through Leo; the apostles so taught."[2] The general council of Chalcedon, in the fifth age of the church, re-echoed the cry of Rome's supremacy.

In 680 the sixth general council met at Constantinople to crush the Monothelite error. The assembled fathers thus address Pope Agatho:—"We willingly leave to you what should be done, as prelate of the *first* see of the universal church, standing on the firm rock of faith, having read through the letter of a true confession sent by your paternal blessedness to our most religious Emperor; *which we recognise as divinely written from the supreme head of the apostles.*"[3] We forbear commenting on what speaks volumes.

In 869 the eighth general council was held at Constantinople. There were present three papal legates, four patriarchs, and 102 bishops. The following pro-

[1] Mansi, 1290. [2] Conc. Gen. tom. iv. [3] Mansi, ii. 683.

fession of faith was signed by all assembled :—" Because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed by, who says, ' Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' these words are proved by the real effect which has followed ; because in the apostolic see the Catholic religion has ever been kept immaculate, and holy doctrine celebrated there. Wherefore by no means desiring to be separated from its faith and doctrine, and following in all things the constitution of the fathers, and chiefly of the holy prelates of the apostolic see, we anathematize all heresies . . . condemning particularly Photius, and Gregory of Syracuse, *parricides*, that is, *who have not feared to put out their tongue against their spiritual father*. Since following in all things the *apostolic see*, and observing in all things its constitutions, we hope that we may be worthy to be in one communion, which the *apostolic see* sets forth, *in which is the complete and true solidity of the Christian religion*. But this my profession I (viz.) have written with my own hand, and delivered to the most holy Adrian, supreme Pontiff and universal Pope."[1]

Now, in addition to the declaration of the supremacy of the Roman see, this document is otherwise most important. It was signed by the four patriarchs, and by all the bishops of the Eastern church there assembled. It denounced as *parricides* Photius and Gregory of Syracuse, who were then living, but who afterwards became the authors of the Greek schism, and the notorious founders of the Greek schismatical church. Thus in the middle of the ninth century, and before the accomplishment of the unhappy Greek schism, a general council held at Constantinople proclaimed the necessity of being in one communion with the apostolic Roman see. The decrees of that council which had been convened in the East will remain as an eternal

[1] Mansi, xvi. 27.

monument to condemn the fatal schism which followed, and which resulted from Grecian jealousy, perfidy, and pride.

It would really seem a work of supererogation to bring forward other equally luminous testimonies of the subsequent councils, which were held respectively at Lyons, Vienne, Pisa, Constance, Basle, Florence, not to speak of the Lateran councils: because, from the very first held at Nicæa in 325, till the last in Trent in 1545, the same unanimous declaration was repeated, "that the Roman church always had the primacy." Is not this enough? or rather is not this far more than sufficient to prove how all Christian antiquity, as represented by the glorious councils which ever and anon have been held, proclaimed, with the voice of unity and of universality, that the Roman church was the first church, and that the Roman Pontiff had supremacy over all?

To confirm this most important point in favour of pontifical supremacy, which is derived from the united evidences of so many venerable councils, we might appeal to another line of argument. We might appeal to the patron saints of all nations—to the very founders of the various churches throughout Europe, and the other quarters of the globe. We might appeal to Augustine of England, Palladius of Scotland, Patrick of Ireland. We might appeal to those self-devoted men, who in different ages carried the light of truth to the countries which were "in darkness and in the shadow of death." We might ask them to tell us who *he* was that sent *them* on their high and holy mission of propagating the faith of Christ—from *whom* did *they* receive ordination, consecration, jurisdiction?—and I am sure that one and all of them, from their seats of glory in heaven, would point to Rome, and would say—There dwelt, in our days, the apostolic successor of Peter, who had a care of all the churches; and *He* it was that sent us, and *He* it was that blessed our evan-

gelical ministrations. Yes! and there still dwells the meek and gentle Pontiff, who literally "spends and is spent" in carrying on the glorious work of the apostolate. We speak as to facts—facts against which there is no reasoning. We ask you to read, and study, and pray, and believe.

All church history proclaims, trumpet-tongued, the supremacy of Peter—the supremacy of Peter's successors; while all church history declares the incontrovertible fact, that every Christian nation that ever existed, is indebted to the Roman Pontiffs for its Christianity. We fearlessly appeal to history, and we abide by her decision.

Church history tells us that all controversies were settled by the supremacy of Rome—"Roma locuta est, causa finita est"—instance the disputes at Corinth, the paschal controversy, the controversy concerning baptism, and all other controversies which afterwards arose in modern times, down to the last *vexata quæstio* respecting the godless colleges in Ireland.

Church history tells us that the supremacy of Rome was the grand bulwark of the faith against all *ancient* heresies, which are reputed such even by Protestants themselves — instance the Arian, Macedonian, Nestorian, Eutychian, Pelagian, Novatian, and so many others,—and that every heresy, without exception, was anathematized by the authority of Rome.

Church history tells us that the supremacy of Rome opposed and condemned all *modern* religious innovations, no matter *where* or by *whom* broached; and that Rome was the only barrier which the great apostasy of the sixteenth century was unable to surmount—Rome, the only rock against which fell in empty spray the wild surges of spiritual anarchy, which had been lashed into fury by the insane fanaticism of Luther, Calvin, and Knox.

History tells us that Rome was the only church that

ever claimed and ever exercised universal power and jurisdiction—the only church that always appointed pastors for every land—bishops for every nation—that established a hierarchy *when* and *where* she judged fit—that deposed bishops according to the canons—that reinstated bishops who had unjustly been driven from their sees—that pronounced censures, suspension, interdict, excommunication—that watched over the morality as well as the education of her children—that encouraged the good, while she rebuked the doers of iniquity.

History tells us that Rome is the only power that can cope with, and that can conquer the world—the only church that can prevent her clergy from sinking into mere vassals of the state, and her people from becoming sheer automata in the hands of designing men. "Not Aman was more troubled to see Mardochæus sitting in the king's gate, than temporal sovereigns are to see *a feeble old man occupying the chair of Peter at Rome.*"[1] And why all this? but because the world, and the princes of the world, hear ringing in their ears that emphatic declaration of the Redeemer, which they cannot possibly gainsay, "*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*"

But I shall be told that Rome has been opposed—that the Roman supremacy has been warred against in every age, as well as in the present. I know, and most readily do I admit the fact. But this I likewise know, and this I fearlessly assert, that the enemies of the Roman Pontiffs were the enemies of Christianity. Yes! from the days of the impious Simon Magus down to the unfortunate renegades Achilli and Gavazzi, the ten thousand different heresies which at various times rose up in conflict with the church, have hated Peter and Peter's successors with an undying hatred. Ever

[1] Brownson.

has it been the desperate policy of heresy and schism—of the world and the devil, to attack the papacy, and to denounce the Pope. Heresy cannot endure the existence of a power which prevents religious innovations—schism cannot endure that the unity of the church should remain inviolate—the world cannot endure that things *spiritual* should take precedence of things *material*—and the devil cannot endure that his utmost efforts should eventually prove abortive. Hence the opposition that *ever has been*, and *ever shall be* raised by the powers of darkness against the church of Christ, and against her anointed head. "They have persecuted *me*, says the Redeemer to his holy spouse the church, and they will persecute *thee*. But fear not, I am with thee all days even to the end."

The Papacy is the highest spiritual office in the church—the most glorious spiritual dignity under heaven. The Sovereign Pontiff—the Vicar of Jesus Christ alone can fill it, because it is no other than the chair of Peter. The occupant of that chair, the holder of that office may die, or may be put to death, but the *Chair* still remains—the *Papacy* lives on. The Papacy lives, and has lived for more than 1800 years. "The Papacy remains, not in decay—not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour."[1]

The Papacy remains on the rock of ages, unchanged in its original constitution, firm in its original strength—the palladium of authority—the centre of unity—bound up with the destinies of that immortal church which is "fated not to die." The Papacy remains *unaltered*, *unimpaired*, while all nature around it, on the other hand, is in a constant state of change and of decline. Empires have risen, and dynasties have fallen—the governments of Europe, of Asia, of Africa have exchanged hands, and been moulded into different forms;

[1] Macaulay.

but the long line of Supreme Pontiffs has been uninterrupted, and that glorious chain will go in succession, link after link, till time shall be swallowed up in eternity.

"There is not, and there never was on this earth, a work of *human* policy (it is not *human*, it is *divine*) so well deserving of examination, as the Roman Catholic Church. The history of that Church joins together the two great ages of human civilization. No other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times, when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when cameleopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre. The proudest royal houses are but of yesterday, when compared with the line of supreme pontiffs. That line we trace back in an unbroken series, from the pope who crowned Napoleon in the *nineteenth* century, to the pope who crowned Pepin in the *eighth*"[1]—to the pope Sylvester who baptized the emperor Constantine at Rome in the *fourth*, to the popes who suffered, and bled, and died for the faith, in the *third*, and *second*, and *first*.

During the three first centuries of the Christian era, the Church was subjected to the law of martyrdom, and during that period she passed through the ordeal of ten most bloody persecutions, under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Severus, Maximin, Decius, Aurelian, and Dioclesian,—every one of her chief pastors, except two, dying by the sword.

Well was it said by Ranke,[2] in speaking of the Roman pontiffs in the first ages, that "their succession was rather to martyrdom and death, than to office." In those bitter days of persecution, the Church was straitened on every side. Christianity was a felony; and the profession of the Christian religion was subjected to the most rigorous penal

[1] Macaulay. [2] History of the Popes, book I.

laws. The worship of the living and true God was prohibited by the state; but all the deities of mythology might be adored in the Pantheon. The divine faith of Christ was *alone* proscribed; but every other religious system, no matter how absurd, was to enjoy unbounded toleration. Oh, how like the position in which we Catholics of the British Isles are at present placed! Every religious system, no matter how ludicrous or ungodly, rejoices in full liberty; but the profession of the Catholic faith is to be fettered with penal enactments! And yet *this* in a kingdom which never ceases to boast of her unparalleled freedom and liberality!

Surely Providence wanted to convince the world, that the Roman pontiffs were pre-eminently the "good shepherds" that lay down their lives for their flock, since, out of thirty popes who occupied in succession the chair of Peter at Rome during the three first centuries, *two* only were not called upon to seal the faith with their blood. And surely it likewise intended to shew, that they were men after God's own heart, since, for the first 500 years, the name of every single pope, *Liberius alone excepted*, has been registered in the calendar of saints.

When the emperor Constantine became a Christian, about the year 313, a new epoch was dated for Christianity. Paganism quickly fell into the throes of dissolution, and the religion of the cross rose triumphant over its ruins. In vain did Julian the apostate afterwards endeavour to revive the worship of the heathen deities. The colossal power of the Cæsars was fast ebbing. The Roman empire, the most formidable that the world has ever seen, embracing, as it did, the sovereignty of the earth, was now rent into the Eastern and Western provinces, and like all institutions of mere human growth, was tottering to its fall. No longer, then, could it shield idolatry, or oppose the progress of Christianity. The whole

fabric of pagan superstition was thus to be dashed to pieces, and like the Philistine idol, was to be hurled to the ground, before the majesty of the ark of truth —the Church of the living God.

Emancipated from the thraldom of a pagan empire, the Church rushed forth to the propagation of the faith, and quickly did she extend her pacific sway throughout the globe. Meantime a spawn of heresies was brooding; for "heresies there must be," says St Paul.[1] The most monstrous theories were now broached on the grand mystery of the incarnation, and appeared under the designations of Arianism, Pelagianism, Nestorianism, the Monophysites, and the Monothelites. What was to be done to oppose innovation, and to save the unity of the faith? The Church, headed by the Roman pontiffs, called her bishops together, and in those glorious Councils to which we have already referred, anathematized, and thus crushed the rising heresies and their abettors.

From the time of Constantine, in the fourth century, till the time of Pepin, in the eighth, in which dates the temporal power of the popes, what scenes of anarchy and bloodshed were not the Roman pontiffs doomed to witness? Successive hordes of barbarians from the north—Goths, Vandals, Alains, Huns, Heruli, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Lombards, and Sueves, poured down like a torrent upon the lovely plains of Italy, and swept as a destroying angel over the land. Other continental and adjoining countries were similarly treated. Cities were pillaged—castles were dismantled—villages were burned down—precious libraries—thousands of volumes were consigned to the flames, at Constantinople, at Alexandria, as well as in very many European cities. What is to be done in this state of chaotic confusion? Who is to come to the rescue of civilization? Who is to stand

[1] Cor.

up and save society from utter ruin, and arrest the arm of the barbarian, and pour love into his bosom, and teach him to be a *man*, and then to be a *Christian*, and tell him that peace is preferable to war, that there is a moral influence stronger than the sword, and a divine influence superior to either? Who was it, I ask, that did this, and far more than this? Was it not the successor of Peter? Was it not the Roman pontiff Leo, that walked forth alone to confront the savage Hun, Attila, and afterwards encountered the barbarous Genseric? And was it not another Roman pontiff, Gregory, surnamed the Great, who went out to meet the invading Lombards, and overawed them by his august presence? What were the weapons of these great high-priests of God, but the cross and the crosier, and the burning eloquence that flowed in resistless streams from their inspired lips? Who that knows history, can deny the inestimable blessings which the immortal bishops of Catholic Rome conferred upon society at large, after the fall of the Roman empire? "It was the Church, says the distinguished historian, Guizot,[1] with its institutions, its magistrates, its temporal power, which strove triumphantly against the internal dissolution that convulsed the empire, and against barbarism—which subdued the barbarians themselves, and became the link, the medium, the principle of civilization, as between the Roman and barbarian worlds."

Time went on, and another formidable enemy arose. The great struggle of hundreds of years duration was now to commence between the *cross* and the *crescent*—the Christian religion and the Mohammedan imposture. The false prophet of Mecca had his millions of followers, who had become masters of a large portion of the habitable globe—who had ex-

[1] Gen. History of Civilization in Europe.

tended their conquests to the centre of Asia—had reduced under their sway all Northern Africa, and had made considerable inroads into Europe. Who again was it that sounded the tocsin of alarm against the enemies of the Christian name, the avowed foes of every Christian nation? Was it not the Roman pontiffs, from their watch-towers on the Vatican and Quirinal hills, that raised that apostolic voice which was sure to be re-echoed and obeyed, in every city, and town, and hamlet, in Christendom, and which called upon all Christian nations to forget their private feuds, and to make common cause against the common enemy of religion as well as of morality? Then was it that the Crusades were organized. The Crusades! which upreared the standard of redemption—which enlisted under that glorious banner the flower and the chivalry of Europe—and which vowed to heaven that the crescent should never vanquish the cross, and that the Koran of Mahomet should never supplant the Testament of Jesus. The Crusades! which, whatever may have been their drawbacks, were most decidedly just in principle, and noble in policy—which were the legitimate offspring of the "ages of faith," and undoubted proof that the Catholic warriors, who embarked in the heroic enterprise of rescuing the Holy Land, cherished a love of the Saviour's religion, aye, and of the Saviour's tomb, which was stronger than death. The Crusades! which, by going forth to Palestine, and pushing hostilities into the very heart of the enemy's camp, taught the Musselmen the prowess of the Christian knight, and the bravery of the Christian soldiery, and administered a never-to-be-forgotten lesson, that Christianity, and her shrines, and her temples, were not to be outraged with impunity. Time forbids us to enter into particulars, so we must hasten on apace.

Come we now for a moment to another eventful

era in the history of the Church, and of her pontiffs, the period of the so-called Reformation. It would be impossible to say, in a few words, what would afford ample matter for a long series of lectures. This much, however, we may most certainly declare, that the power which triumphed over paganism and the Roman empire—the power which conquered heresies and subdued ruthless barbarians—the power which made the crescent grow pale in the sight of the cross—that that same power, as embodied in the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs, has risen victorious over the lamentable apostasy of the sixteenth century. The same have we to say with regard to subsequent revolutions which have taken place in Europe at different times. Tedious would it be to touch, however slightly, upon events which occupy so large a space in the pages of history. But we do most boldly proclaim in the face of heaven and earth, that the Church has nothing to fear from man, because God is with her; and if God be with her, no matter who is against her. True it is, however, that the Church still may suffer—still may she be persecuted—still may she groan under the iron hand of oppression. Such is the permission—such the providence of Heaven! She may be scourged, as was scourged her great Founder—she may be treated with contumely, as He also was treated—she may be doomed to drink a portion of that chalice of suffering, which He drank to the dregs—She may weep again, as she wept of old when her apostolic prelate, Peter, was enchained in the Mamertine prison—Her heart may bleed anew, as it bled before when she was widowed of her venerable Pontiffs, who came forth from the Catacombs to profess the faith and die—Tears may stream from her eyelids once again, as in those days of sorrow, when the cry of extermination—"Christiani ad leones!" To the lions with the Christians!—rung throughout the city of the Cæsars,

and when bishops, and priests, and people of every rank in life, were mercilessly exposed in the amphitheatre to be devoured by wild beasts, because they worshipped the God of the cross, and not the gods of the Pantheon! Our holy mother, the Church, may mourn again, as during her eventful career she often has had occasion to mourn, when the sword of fanaticism was laying desolate Catholic lands — when the altars at which her priests offered the pure and holy sacrifice were sacrilegiously torn down — when the stones of the sanctuary were scattered in the streets, and when, as in Scotland, her venerable cathedrals, her churches, and her religious houses were reduced by demons in human form to one sad heap of mouldering ruins. She may weep her sorrow again, as she wept before, when sacrilegious hands dragged the magnanimous Pius VI., and afterwards the saintly Pius VII., into captivity, and when the disturbances of anarchists sent the present noble pontiff, Pius IX., into exile at Gaeta. The Church—such is her destiny—may see a recurrence of these calamities, and see them with the bitterest pain. But never can she compromise matters with her oppressors—never can she yield in the slightest tittle to her persecutors—never can she tolerate an invasion of her liberty, nor countenance the least encroachment upon her rights. The reason is obvious: she is a *divine*, and not a *human*—she is a *spiritual*, and not a mere *temporal* establishment. She holds the faith which she received from God. To God, then, and not to man is she amenable. For when did the apostles or their successors crave permission from the emperors or their proconsuls to preach the gospel, to administer the sacraments, to found new diocesses, to establish new hierarchies, to remove abuses, and to inflict canonical censures? Was it not because they did all these things, despite of opposition, that they were denounced, pursued like felons, cast into prison, and eventually put to

the sword? What marvel, then, if the only church in the world which declares herself to be possessed of the supremacy of Peter should act like Peter, and like Peter's apostolic successors? What marvel if, like the apostles, she also should say to the rulers of the earth, "If it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye."[1] What marvel if she should speak to all princes and potentates as spoke the late glorious Pope Gregory XVI. to the Emperor of the Russias—"You may send your armies to surround the walls of the eternal city, but you are grievously mistaken if you think to force the Roman Pontiff to act against his conscience!"

For I ask, what do men mean in clamouring against the only church of Christ upon earth? What do legislators propose to themselves with their penal laws, their threatened fines and imprisonment for conscience sake? What does Protestantism, and Presbyterianism, and Freekirkism, and Socialism, and Rationalism expect in this desperate onslaught against the Catholic Church in Great Britain and Ireland, and throughout the Continent? To pull down the fabric that was upreared and is upheld by the right arm of the God omnipotent? Ah! surely *they* have little faith in Scripture who believe not the words of old Gamaliel, in regard to the foundation of the church by the apostles—"And now, therefore, I say to you, refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this design or work *be of men, it will fall to nothing; but if it be of God, you are not able to destroy it;* lest perhaps you be found to oppose God."[2] Surely *they* have read history neither wisely nor well, who dream of the discomfiture of a church that has borne the brunt of the battle for more than eighteen hundred years—which knows what it is to fight, but *not* to be overcome—which has been

[1] Acts iv. 19. [2] Acts v. 38.

wounded, but never killed — injured, but never destroyed—which has a charmed life, and which, though "doomed to death" by men and demons, is "fated not to die." No! No! let no man tell me that the church of God is in danger. Tell me not that the Catholic church has any thing to fear from heresy or schism—from revolutions, or from a *second* Reformation. Tell me not that her foundations can be sapped, or that her citadel can be taken. Her whole history proclaims the contrary—her whole history is the best proof of her absolute indestructibility. "The nations raged, and the people devised vain things: but He who dwelleth in heaven laughed at them, and the Lord derided them."[1] What? the church of Christ in danger! the Catholic church in peril! What Catholic thinks so—what Catholic says so? I am well aware that Protestants think so, and say so. But Protestants are *not* Catholics, though some, like the Donatists of old, would wish to arrogate to themselves the glorious name.

"Nothing," says the eloquent Chrysostom,[2] "is stronger than the church of Christ: if any one should propose to attack her, he must needs waste his strength, as though he waged war against Heaven itself. No power can conquer the church: God is in the church, who is stronger than all."

"This is the holy church," exclaims Augustine,[3] "the one church, the true church, the Catholic church, which wars against all heresies. She may battle against them; *she cannot be overcome.* All heresies went out from her, like useless branches cut off from the vine. But she remains in her root, in her vine, in her charity. *The gates of hell shall not conquer her.*"

With joy of heart do we repeat these words, which

[1] Psalms ii. [2] Serm. de expul. sua.
[3] De sym. ad catech.

were spoken fifteen hundred years ago, and which are true to the letter, now in the nineteenth, as they were in the fourth century. Surely the children of the Church may be permitted to speak in the warmest eulogy of their holy mother, when we find those that are without her pale expressing themselves in the following glowing strains:—"The Catholic Church is still sending forth to the farthest ends of the world missionaries as zealous as those who landed in Kent with Augustine, and still confronting hostile kings with the same spirit with which she confronted Attila. The number of her children is greater than in any former age. Her acquisitions in the new world have more than compensated for what she has lost in the old. Her spiritual ascendancy extends over the vast countries which lie between the plains of the Missouri and Cape Horn—countries which, a century hence, may not improbably contain a population as large as that which now inhabits Europe. The members of her communion are certainly not fewer than *one*—(*rather two hundred and fifty millions*)*?* and it will be difficult to shew, that all the other Christian sects united, amount to *one hundred and twenty millions.* Nor do we see any sign which indicates that the term of her long dominion is approaching. She saw the commencement of all the governments, and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world; *and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all.* She was great and respected before the Saxon had set foot in Britain—before the Frank had passed the Rhine—when Grecian eloquence still flourished at Antioch—when idols were still worshipped in the temple of Mecca.... Four times since the authority of the Church of Rome was established in Western Christendom, has the human intellect risen up against her. Twice she remained completely victorious; twice she came

forth from the conflict, bearing the marks of cruel wounds, but with the principle of life still strong within her. *When we reflect on the tremendous assaults which she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive* in what way she is to perish."[1] Perish! the Church of God is as imperishable as her heavenly founder! Immortality is written above her portico: indestructibility is engraven upon her walls: the words of the Redeemer are re-echoed for ever and ever from her cupola—"*The gates of hell shall not prevail against her!*"

But we must wind to a conclusion, and tear ourselves away from this delightful theme. Yet before we go, let us sum up, in a few words, what we have said upon this vitally important subject of the Papacy. We have proved that Christ promised to institute the office of the supremacy; we have proved that Peter alone of the twelve apostles held that office—that he discharged the duties annexed to that office — moreover, that that office survived his death, and was filled by his lawful successors, the bishops of Rome. If then the supremacy of Peter still survives, it must be vested in some individual. It is not a mere *abstract* truth, but rather, so to speak, *concrete;* for it must live, and move, and have a being. Now no one so much as even claims the supremacy of Peter, except the Roman pontiff; and we submit, from the accumulation of proofs already adduced, that his claim is founded upon the most unquestionable evidence. Witnesses we have brought forward—witnesses of the most unimpeachable character, to testify to the line of succession in the Roman see. If we refuse to admit their testimony, all moral certainty is gone; we can be sure of nothing; history becomes a narrative of uncertainties; and

[1] Macaulay's Review of Ranke's Lives of the Popes.

universal scepticism would then be the inevitable result.

Irenæus,[1] who lived towards the end of the *second* century, furnishes a list of the Roman pontiffs from Peter down to *Eleutherius*, who then sat in Peter's chair, at the time in which he wrote.

Eusebius,[2] who lived at the close of the *third* century, furnishes a list of the Roman pontiffs who succeeded each other down to his own time, and mentions distinctly that Linus was first in succession after Peter.

Optatus,[3] who lived in the *fourth* century, furnishes a similar list, and terminates his catalogue with the name of Siricius, who was then the Roman pontiff.

Augustine,[4] who lived in the *fifth* century, furnishes likewise a list of Roman pontiffs, from St Peter down to Anastasius, and called upon his adversaries, the Donatists, to produce a parallel line of pastors.

Now, if we deny the testimony of these most accredited witnesses—if we reject the line of succession of Roman pontiffs, as drawn up by those distinguished men who wrote at different times, in different countries, among whom there could not possibly have existed any collusion, and who had no other end to serve save the cause of truth—if, I say, we venture to deny this great fact, we must, to act consistently, deny likewise other historical facts. We cannot make an exception, but throw overboard all facts recorded in history, both ancient and modern. If we deny the chronological succession of Roman pontiffs, we must deny the chronological succession of the Roman emperors—we must sweep aside all that is recorded of the Latin kings—of the kings of Egypt, of Assyria, of Persia, of Athens, of Lacedemon, of Thebes, of Troy—in a word, of all that is recorded in classical

[1] Lib. iii. adv. Hær.
[2] Hist. Eccles. l. iii. c. iv.
[3] Lib. Cont. Parm.
[4] Epis. liii.

history. Certainly we cannot contemplate such a piece of extravagance, without at once seeing its absurdity. Therefore it follows, that as we admit without scruple the facts which are registered in history which is *profane*, we must admit those facts which are chronicled in history which is *ecclesiastical*, seeing that the foundation on which they are grounded is equally solid and unexceptionable. Prejudice alone can make a difference; common honesty admits, that historical facts, narrated by writers equally worthy of credence, must stand or fall together.

But it is said that—admitting the line of succession —many of the Popes were bad men—that they abused a temporal power which they ought not to have possessed—that they claimed the right to depose princes, and to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance —moreover, that the Church of Rome taught the doctrine of persecution. These are the usual popular objections which are so flippantly urged. Now let us review briefly each of these points of *indictment*.

To the first point we say, that to any one who studies the human heart, it will not appear matter of much surprise, that among upwards of 250 Pontiffs, whose spiritual reign extended over a period of more than 1800 years, some few there were whose lives did not correspond with their exalted position. Indeed they would have been more than mortal, if every one of them had passed through life without the slightest blemish, seeing that even among the *twelve* apostles, *one* was a traitor. Now in the long line of pontifical succession, which we shall afterwards read, there is not *one* in *twelve*, nor one in *twenty*, against whom the tongue of calumny and detraction has been let loose: while it is a consoling fact, that some of the very Pontiffs who were most maligned, such as Innocent III., Gregory VII., Boniface VIII., and others, have recently been vindicated by writers of the first literary

eminence. Suffice to mention the names of Eichhorn, Luden, Müller, and Ranke, distinguished German Protestants, who have been engaged in the noble work of repairing the characters of Rome's slandered Pontiffs. Moreover we say, that while Christ promised the *gift of infallibility to his church*, we are nowhere told that he promised *the gift of impeccability to his apostles, or to their successors*. Sin certainly is blameable in every creature, but more particularly in those who have the most august ordinances to discharge. Fortunately, however, the *validity* of the sacraments does not depend on the *sanctity* of the minister.

We may moreover add—not by way of extenuating iniquity, but to shew the infirmity of human nature when unprotected by divine grace—that under the old law, God's appointed messengers sometimes forgot their duty. Instance David, Solomon, Samson, Heli and his sons. The priests of the kingdom of Judah failed also to recollect that they had been specially appointed to offer sacrifices to God alone. When our divine Saviour appeared on the earth, he admonished the people to follow the *good doctrine*, and not the *bad example* of their teachers. Thus did he draw the distinction—"The Scribes and the Pharisees have sitten in the chair of Moyses. All, therefore, whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do: *but according to their works, do ye not.*"[1] Thus what they said was to be done, but their *works* were to be shunned.

Granting, therefore, what we neither wish to palliate nor deny, that the conduct of some few Popes was a reproach to the supreme Pontificate, we contend that the objection serves to strengthen what it is intended to invalidate—the promises, namely, of God to his church. For if the Church, despite the shortcomings of her visible head, still remained *intact*, is it not an

[1] Matt. xxiii. 2.

additional proof of the watchful providence of Heaven over her ever chequered destinies? No matter, then, what is said by ignorance, and exaggerated by malevolence—no matter what delinquencies, real or imaginary, may be imputed to some half-dozen, or half a score of Pontiffs; this much we fearlessly maintain, and we are prepared to demonstrate, that no Pope ever propounded, *ex cathedra*, any dogma at variance with faith and morals. With these drawbacks, in as far as individual responsibility was concerned, and which might tarnish, but could not destroy the Supremacy of the Pontiff's office, — no more than the regal office of England could be destroyed, although held by those monsters of depravity, Henry and Elizabeth,—where shall we find, in searching the annals of the entire world, a line of sovereigns that can for a moment be compared with the long unbroken chain of Rome's Bishops, who, with very few exceptions, stand out as models of virtue, of learning, and of sanctity? We speak because we know, and we challenge investigation. Surely D'Alembert was no patron of the Papacy, yet he does not hesitate to write: "In no list of sovereigns will you ever find, in equal number, so many men worthy of the attention of posterity."

To the second point, namely, "that the Popes abused a temporal power which they ought not to have possessed;" we say, that, in as far as Catholic faith is concerned, we might safely yield to the whole allegation. As Catholics, we are called upon to defend the *spiritual* not the *temporal* power of the Popes, although, in favour of the latter, very much certainly can be urged. The temporal power is an accidental appendage, and not essential to the Supremacy. That abuses did happen we are not slow to acknowledge. But what is there under heaven that has not been abused? Our adversaries pounce upon certain faults

of Papal administration, which they call abuses, and forget those innumerable benefits which that same Papal power has so long conferred upon society. Such is that ingratitude which requites incalculable blessings by "casting stones" against its benefactors.

To the third point, "that the Popes claimed the right to depose Princes, and to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance," we might in the language of the Schools say, *Transeat*, such being no article of Catholic faith. The unanimous reply of five celebrated Catholic Universities — Sorbonne, Louvaine, Douay, Alcala, and Salamanca to an eminent statesman, is abundantly declaratory. Pitt, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, sent to make inquiries upon this subject, and received for answer, that such was no doctrine of the Catholic Church.[1] That the Popes may have used, or even if you please, stretched a power which was forced upon them during the middle ages, is possible enough. But we should remember the times to which allusion is made. Society was then in a state of transition and of turmoil. Civil and social rights were ill defined: *might* and *right* were nearly equivalent terms, and brute force was too often the order of the day. Frequently were princes tyrants, and these tyrants ground the people to the dust. No wonder that the sovereign Pontiffs, who were justly held in the most profound veneration, and looked up to by all Christendom as the mediators who alone could be depended on, should have read a lesson both to princes and to people; and while they inculcated to the people obedience to the constituted authorities, they likewise admonished the princes that they had *duties to discharge, as well as rights to guard.*

During the ages of faith, the spiritual relations which subsisted between the supreme Pontiffs and all

[1] See Chas. Butler's Works.

Catholic nations, induced the latter to have recourse to the former in almost every emergency. They recognised the Roman Pontiff as their common father upon earth. No marvel, then, that the voice of such a father should be listened to by his spiritual children, when no other voice would be heard. Urban IV., writing, in the thirteenth century, to Michael Palæologus, emperor of Constantinople, says[1] — "Catholic kings, when any dissension occurs between them, or when their vassals presume to rebel against them, immediately have recourse to this church, as to a harbour of safety, imploring salutary counsel and aid, and unfailingly receive from her remedies, whereby tranquillity and peace are secured: by which means serene harmony and harmonious serenity are re-established among those who were discordant and troubled; the seditions of subjects are quelled, and the complaints of the litigious are hushed. Moreover, the same Roman Church acts as a tender mother to the infant heirs of such kingdoms, whenever they are left orphans, by the death of their parents during their minority; and she diligently and advantageously undertakes their government and protection, and defends their inheritance and kingdoms, in cases of necessity, even at her own expense, from any invaders and usurpers."

Before, then, objecting to Papal intervention, we should consider the circumstances of those times, and inquire what else could have been done, or what better umpire could possibly have been chosen. The Pope was appealed to by both parties, and it was his duty to arbitrate between them. Whether kings reign by divine right, or by the sovereign will of the people, is a question upon which we shall not enter. Certain, however, it is, that during the middle ages, both kings and people believed that the Popes were perfectly jus-

[1] Apud Rayn. anno 1263.

tified in interposing between them—that they were fully justified in declaring, that when a prince wantonly abused the power with which he was invested, and trampled under foot all the laws of God and his country, that the people were no longer bound to obey, and that resistance became a duty.

It is fashionable in almost every circle to speak of the marvellous happiness of the British Isles, and to contrast, with pride and pleasure, the superior excellence of the British constitution with Continental governments. *We think ourselves happy, and therefore, of course, we are so.* But if we so think, why find fault with other nations who envy not our lot, and believe, *perhaps not untruly*, that they are far happier than we? Let us not be so *one-sided* as to refuse to *others* the same privilege that *we* claim, *of thinking* for themselves, and of exulting in the glories of their own dear father-land.

To prove, however, that even Protestants can appreciate the benefits of Papal intervention, let us listen to Sir Edward Sandys,[1] who compares the relative position of Catholic and Protestant Europe, and declares the decided advantage of the former in this particular. He thus writes:—"The other have the Pope as a common father, adviser, and conductor to them all, to reconcile their enmities, to appease their displeasures, to decide their differences."

Ancillon[2] speaks of the Popes of the middle ages:—"They formed a supreme tribunal, erected in the midst of universal anarchy: and their decrees were in general as respectable as they were respected."

Andisio [3] an Italian writer, but not of the *rebellious Mazzini school*, called the Papacy "a spiritual tribuneship, which effectually pleaded for the people, when sovereigns went beyond the just limits of authority."

[1] Europæ Speculum, p. 202. [2] Fletcher's Comp. View, 157.
[3] Educaz. del Clero.

Brownson[1] years ago wrote, "Wrong have they been who have complained that kings and emperors were subjected to the spiritual Head of Christendom. It was well for man that there was a power above the brutal tryants called emperors, kings, and barons, who rode rough shod over the humble peasant and artizan —well that there was even on earth a power that could touch their cold and atheistical hearts, and make them tremble as the veri t slave." Again— 'It is to the existence and exercise of that power, that the people owe their existence, and the doctrine of man's equality to man its progress." This distinguished American writer has lately been received into the Church.

The eminent statesman and historian Guizot,[2] thus writes:—"*We* speak of the rights of temporal power without difficulty; but at the epoch under review, the power was a mere brute force—an intractable ruffianism. The Church, however imperfect its notions of morals and of justice might still be, was infinitely superior to such a government; *and the cry of the people was continually raised, beseeching it to take its place.* When a Pope or a few Bishops proclaimed a sovereign denuded of his rights, and his subjects free from the oath of fidelity, such an intervention, although doubtless open to serious abuses, was often, in particular cases, *legitimate and salutary.* In general, whenever liberty was wanting to mankind, its restoration has been the work of religion. In the *tenth century* the people were not in a state to defend themselves, or to make their *rights* available against *civil violence*, and religion came to the rescue in the name of Heaven."

Too many of those then who clamour against the Catholic Church and against her Pontiffs, often know not what they say. They repeat by rote what they

[1] Boston Quarterly Review, 1842.
[2] Gen. Hist. of Civiliz. in Europe.

have heard, without inquiring whether it be true or false. They are thus the mere echoes of a popular cry. The adversaries of Catholicism do not seem to be aware of how much society is indebted almost exclusively to the Church and her Pontiffs. They forget that while now-a-days we reap the fruit of a refined state of civilisation, it was the Catholic Church, ages back, that sowed the seed,—that if we have now a beauteous superstructure, it was she who laid the foundations. For it was she that began the great work of religious as well as social regeneration—it was she, after the fall of the Roman Empire, that humanized the barbarian, and first raised her voice against the curse of slavery. It was she that protected the liberty of the free, and set on foot her religious orders for the redemption of the captive. It was she that elevated the tone of men's character, and *particularly the character of women:* for while before Christianity appeared, a plurality of wives was often indulged in, she declared that such a degradation of the sex was not to be tolerated—that monogamy should be strictly observed—that the marriage tie was indissoluble, and that as long as husband or wife lived, neither could be permitted to marry a second time. It was she that established the "Truce of God,"—that called into being her military orders—her mendicant and preaching orders—and founded those sacred conventual and monastic institutions, where despite the calumny of the day, the happy inmates lead the lives of angels, and even upon earth have a foretaste of heaven. It was she that endowed hospitals for all the woes that afflict suffering humanity—that formed her Guilds for the industrial classes—that organized her various trades corporations—that studied the constitution of human nature—that therefore addressed herself to the souls and bodies of her children—that made religion a pleasure, not a toil—attractive

not repulsive—that hung roses instead of thorns around her altars, and caused the ever-recurring festival to be welcomed as the harbinger of joy to all "men of good will." It was the Catholic Church by her Pontiffs that did these things and infinitely more. Talk not to me of the Reformation, or of its spawn of creeds! Talk not of an irreligious system which could pull down, in some countries sf Europe, the sacred edifice of Christianity, but never could build it up—which could tell *not* what it *believed*, but rather what it *disbelieved*, and which could license its votaries to sport with the eternal truths of revelation!

Were Protestants only to know that of which we Catholics feel certain, *then* it would be seen and admitted, that the influence of the so-called Reformation was most disastrous, not only to *faith* and *morals*, but to *literature*—to the *arts and sciences*—as well as to *civil* and *religious* liberty. Upon other occasions we have proved all this. Truly it is a most egregious mistake to employ the argument *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, in relation to the change of religion in the sixteenth century. What! The idea, because during the lapse of 300 succeeding years, certain nations have so far rallied from the sad consequences of religious anarchy, and have made great advances in science and in letters, that we are to attribute such results to some apostate friars who fanned the flame of rebellion, and raised throughout the half of Europe a fearful conflagration, is something too monstrous calmly to entertain. Our adversaries forget the injuries that were inflicted at the time upon civilization under its various aspects, and how much every advancement in social life was retarded by that unhallowed event. They forget also how it would require years upon years to undo the evil that was done, even before starting again in the race of social and intellectual improvement. But of this, for the present enough.

To the fourth point, that " the Church of Rome taught the doctrine of persecution," we flatly deny the charge. It is no doctrine of the Catholic Church to persecute. On the contrary, it is a maxim in her moral code, " Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine,"—the Church hates bloodshed. Her weapons are spiritual, not carnal : she wields the sword of the Spirit, not the sword of flesh. It is idle to allege certain cases, the changes on which have been so often rung : for such the Church is by no manner of means accountable, no more than she is responsible for the sins of her children.

The oath prescribed to be taken by Bishops at their consecration has been frequently urged as sanctioning persecution. A little explanation will clear up this matter. The bishops of Ireland had represented to the then Pope Pius VI. that exception had been taken to a clause in the oath in respect to heretics, which had given rise to much abusive clamour. The holy father returned an authoritative explanation, through his eminence Cardinal Antonelli, then Prefect of the college of Propaganda, to this effect :—" His Holiness Pius VI. has not disregarded your requests : and therefore, in order effectually to remove every occasion of cavil and calumny, which, as you write, some borrow from the words in the form of oath of obedience to the apostolic see, that bishops are required to take at their consecration—' I will prosecute and oppose heretics, &c. to the utmost of my power,'—which words are maliciously interpreted as the signal of war against heretics, authorizing persecution and assault against them as enemies; *whereas the pursuit and opposition to heretics, which the bishops undertake, are to be understood as referring to their solicitude and efforts in convincing heretics of their errors, and procuring their reconciliation with the Catholic Church :* His Holiness has graciously condescended to substitute in place of the ancient form of oath, that one which was publicly repeated by the Archbishop

of Mohilow, to the great satisfaction of all the court of St Petersburgh, in presence of the Empress, and which we transmit to you in this letter." Thus we see the misconception which arises from not appreciating the spirit, and not estimating properly the doctrines of the Church.

It is still urged, however, that—waiving the question of the temporal power of the Papacy—its spiritual authority is enslaving, because it is so absolute and domineering.

Now this is a most popular and flippant objection, as it is well calculated *ad captandum* not only the *vulgus*, but likewise the *optimates*. Yet, after all, it is mere declamation. It is very fine indeed for those to talk in this manner who uphold the *supremacy of private judgment*, in contradistinction to the *supremacy of the Pope*. But Catholics are not *private-judgment*-men, for they acknowledge a divinely constituted authority in matters of religion. They believe that the spiritual authority of the Papacy has been built up and supported by the hand of God, and that it is their duty, as it is their interest, to obey it, as they would obey God himself. "He that hears you, hears me."

The spiritual power of the Papacy is the power of the Church administered by her visible head. As we are commanded by Christ himself to obey the church under the severest penalties—"If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican"[1]—so we are commanded to obey *him* who is the living representative of the Church, and the Vicegerent of the Redeemer. The inference is inevitable. If to obey Christ—to obey his Church—to obey his Vicar upon earth be slavery, then is the Catholic a slave! then obedience is slavery! then are all men slaves! for every man is obliged to obey laws of some

[1] Matt. xviii. 17.

kind or another. But obedience in religion is rather to be put in possession of true liberty than slavery; for the land-marks of faith are distinctly laid down; one is thereby guarded from the unbridled license of *private* judgment, and from the fickle fickleness of *private* opinion.

To talk of the domineering tendency of the Papacy is to declaim, not to reason. The Papacy has its legitimate province—*there* has it ample range, and *there* is it all-powerful. Should it travel out of its own sphere, and mingle in the fray of mere temporal concerns, then exception might and would be taken. But as long as it attends to those affairs which directly or indirectly affect the well-being of the children of holy Church, nothing has it to fear, no matter what may be the quarter whence opposition arises.

We are told, however, by Mazzini, in an uproarious tirade, that the "*Papacy is a corpse*," and that speech has been applauded by a London audience to the very echo. How then has it happened that this *corpse* has lately convulsed the British Isles, and frightened Protestantism out of all propriety? The Papacy a corpse indeed!—that *living and life-like body*, whose head but speaks a single word, and Europe, Asia, Africa, America are all attention, and 250 millions of subjects obey as one man! Away with such miserable drivelling, as unworthy of observation.

There is a constant clamour in this country against the *Jesuitism*, as it called, of the Court of Rome. At that we are not surprised. Bigotry and intolerance are always clamorous. The Roman Court does not require our feeble advocacy, for it can take care of itself. Its wisdom and caution are proverbial—*immeasurably greater than what we pique ourselves upon in Scotland. Roma—mora* has passed into an aphorism. The other European courts are not slow in awarding the praise of the most profound sagacity and unequalled states-

manship to the Court of Rome. The Russian ambassador Italinsky[1] observed, that "Rome is invulnerable in her dogmas, and that it is the only court in which no complete blunder in politics is ever made." It would be tedious to refer to other testimonies; but we may remark, while on this subject, that at the congress of Vienna, in which were assembled representatives from the various courts, to settle the affairs of Europe, Cardinal Consalvi, the papal nuncio, was the master mind present. Even *politically* speaking, then, the Court of Rome has always stood eminently conspicuous, nor is there any danger of its lapsing from its high and well-established character in the diplomatic world. This, however, is beside the question.

One peculiar characteristic we have not as yet mentioned, and that is, the perfect adaptation of the Catholic Church to every kind of government. No matter whether the form of government be democratic, aristocratic, or monarchical, the Church can accommodate herself to all. This very fact is significant, because it shews the ineffable wisdom of the divine Founder of Christianity, in fashioning his Church in such a manner as to meet the requirements of all times and places. Ranke has not failed to observe this, when he says, "This religious system has no inherent form or necessary affinity to one form of government more than to another."[2] Still, however, it should always be borne in mind, that the power which we acknowledge in the Papacy is *spiritual*, and quite distinct from the allegiance which we owe to the civil government under which we live. Upon this principle we give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's. We may also remark, that the Catholic Church is constitutionally most conservative. She has been commanded to guard the sacred *depositum* of

[1] Histoire du Pape Leon XII. par Artand.
[2] Hist. of the Popes, vol. i. p. 407.

faith with the most jealous care; yet, while faith is unchangeable, discipline, or her external administration, may change. Providing, then, her doctrine is left *intact*, she is well disposed to yield to the claims of rational liberty, but never to that license which would lead to anarchy or insubordination. It is mere *verbiage* to talk of the Catholic Church being the enemy of liberty. Surely England and Scotland, not to mention other nations, were free countries in Catholic times. Surely England was free when the great charter of liberty was signed—and Scotland was free when at Bannockburn she achieved her independence. As long as Scotland was Catholic, she could boast of her own Scottish king, but when *Scotland lost the faith, she lost her crown.*

We need not advert to other incidental matter, as we have been led on in the treatment of our subject to much greater length than we had originally contemplated. Still we have said but little, comparatively speaking, by way of apology for the doctrines of that ancient church, against which so much, day after day, is recklessly uttered. But if even *that little* should serve to strengthen the Catholic in his faith, and to soften, or, peradventure, to remove the prejudices of the Protestant, something will be gained for the cause of truth. To promote that cause, and to contribute what we can to undo the sad work of the Reformation, have we devoted ourselves without reserve. God is our witness how earnestly we would wish to labour for the propagation of our pure and undefiled religion; and how anxiously we pray that Great Britain, which in an evil hour had prevaricated from the faith, may once again be united to the Mother Church of Christendom.

Surely it is time for our fellow-men in Scotland and in England to consider whether what is commonly termed the *Reformation* was the work of God

or the work of man; for if it were not the work of God, those who were engaged in it must have been urged on *by every thing else than a heavenly agency*. It is time to study the characters of the so-called Reformers—to inquire if *they* could have been animated with the spirit of the Gospel of peace, and if they bore any kind of resemblance to the Apostles of Christ. It is time to review, with calmness but with all earnestness, that fearful revolution which tore from the bosom of the ancient Church these two celebrated kingdoms, that for nearly a thousand years had been most faithful to the Holy Apostolic See—which destroyed the religion that was associated with the historic glories of both countries—the religion of the Alfreds and the Edwards—the Margarets and the Bruces—the religion in which our forefathers died, and were saved; which set up a totally new *system of religion*—a system the very reverse of the old, and which never had been heard of before in the Christian world—a system which announced itself not from Rome, not from any of the Apostolic nor Patriarchal Churches, but rather to have proceeded from Wurtemberg and from Geneva!

Surely men who have souls to save, and a God to serve, should make every inquiry whether an especial revelation had been communicated to the Reformers to bring about so marvellous a change, and to stigmatize the ancient faith of Christendom as nothing short of idolatry, before committing their eternal destinies to a system which had no existence in the world before the sixteenth century. They should, moreover, inquire whether the Almighty could have authorized the Reformers to insult His sacred presence in the very temples which had been consecrated to divine worship,—whether He could have authorized them to trample under foot the Holy of Holies—to maltreat his anointed servants—to desecrate his ca-

thedrals—to demolish his churches—to break down his altars—to profane his sanctuary—to pillage monastic and conventual institutions—to rob the poor of their patrimony—to alienate the bequests of the dead —before continuing in a system which was cradled in sacrilege, and brought up in licentiousness, and which presents upon its countenance not one genuine feature of a celestial origin! If the Reformation were every thing else but the work of God—if the Reformers were whatever you please, except men of God—is it not painful in the extreme to find so many of our friends and our kindred, and of those whom we love and value, unfortunately wedded to an anti-religious system, which never could have received the sanction of Heaven, yea, which is an anathema in the sight of God and his angels?

Surely it is time, it is more than time, for Catholics to redouble their every exertion—to press home upon the hearts and the intellects of their fellow men the unity and the importance of religious truth—to employ every legitimate means to disseminate the doctrines of the one true faith, and to beg of the Father of light and the God of all understanding, to illumine the minds of those who are in darkness, and to bring them to a knowledge of eternal truth. Oh! how earnestly should we pray, and were it possible, even weary heaven with our prayers, for our own salvation, and for the salvation of all men! How endearingly should we entreat the good Shepherd to bring back the lost sheep from its wanderings! How unceasingly should we beseech our patron saints and holy angels who surround the throne of the Eternal to unite their orisons with ours in behalf of our common country,—that Great Britain, once an island of saints—once studded over from sea to sea, with those beauteous temples on whose altars the pure sacrifice was offered up to the Lord of Hosts —may again worship in spirit and in truth, may again

be brought within the hallowed precincts of the one fold, and may again, as in the days of old, recognise the crook of the one universal Shepherd upon earth! For such a consummation must we "in season, out of season" labour—for such, must we frequently and most fervently pray.

In giving these Lectures to the public, we disclaim all merit whatever, as our only desire is to be useful. We would, however, most humbly beg God's blessing on the writer, as well as on the reader; and gladly would we lay our little work at the feet of the Supreme Pontiff, the Father of Christendom,—before whose apostolic predecessor, Gregory XVI., we have often been privileged to kneel—while we would present it as a feeble expression of our heartfelt devotedness to the holy, apostolic, and Roman See.

In conclusion, let us adopt, in respect to the Church of God upon earth, the touching petition of the old Psalmist, in regard to the house of the Lord, when, with exquisite tenderness of feeling, he cried out, Psal. xxvi. "Unam petii a Domino, hanc requiram, ut inhabitem in domo Domini omnibus diebus vitæ meæ: ut videam voluptatem Domini." Amen.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE POPES.

With the view of rendering those Lectures on Papal Supremacy still more useful, I have deemed it advisable to append a catalogue of the Roman pontiffs. In addition to those ancient writers already mentioned as having drawn up lists of the popes, I may also name Hegesippus,[1] who relinquished Judaism to embrace Christianity. He went to Rome in the year 157, and died about the year 181. He is the first writer after the Apostles who left a body of ecclesiastical history from the death of Christ down to his own time. Only a few fragments of his history are now extant. His work was written with great simplicity, which caused St Jerome to remark, "that it resembled the simplicity of the lives he described."

In furnishing this catalogue, I abstain, at present, from touching upon sundry points which have formed legitimate subjects for critical inquiry, but which do not in the least affect the line of succession. It cannot be matter of surprise that chronologists should differ somewhat with regard to the precise year in which St Peter came to Rome, as well as to the year of his martyrdom. All, however, are unanimous with regard to the facts themselves—that St Peter came to Rome—that he founded the Roman Church—that in Rome he fixed his primatial see—and that in Rome he died a martyr for the faith.

During the despicable excitement throughout Great Britain, consequent on the re-establishment of the hierarchy in England, the question, whether St Peter had been at Rome was much canvassed. Upon that subject I published the substance of two lectures which I had delivered, and in which I had brought

[1] See Mabillon.

forward the best *historical* evidence to prove this great *historical* fact. My witnesses were Clement, Ignatius, Papias, Irenæus, Dionysius, Caius, Tertullian, Origen, Optatus, Eusebius, Paulus Orosius, and Jerome. I also referred to Arnobius, Hegesippus, Cyril, Ambrose, and Augustine. I referred to the Councils, from the first held in Nicæa, in 325, to the last in Trent, in 1545; and I appealed to the Fathers assembled on those august occasions to give testimony as to the uniform belief of Christendom with respect to this leading fact of Church history. I referred to the Liberian catalogue of the popes, which had been drawn up in the year 354, and to the very portraits of the popes, which so many ages back had been painted on the walls of the Ostian Basilica. I referred to the most distinguished Catholic antiquarians, such as Schelestrasius, Blanchini, Mamachius, Mabillon, Pagi, Henschenius, Muratori, and others; and I next referred to eminent Protestant writers, Grotius, Hammond, Scaliger, Newton, Blondel, Barratier, Bertholt, Pearson, Basnage, Cave, and Shrock, who all agree in what the erudite German, Neander, writes, "It is hypercritical to call in question the tradition presented by the harmonious testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity, that St Peter was at Rome."

Much other historical and monumental evidence did I adduce to witness to this great historical fact; for facts are proved by *testimony*, and not by *reasoning;* and after having brought to bear all the little scholarship which I could command, I had flattered the belief that the position which I had undertaken had been tolerably proved. I now find, *at this very moment when these pages are passing through the press, and on the very eve of publication*, that I have been honoured with a reply. The anonymous author of "Faith and Infidelity,"[1]

[1] The Truth about Rome: a Short Treatise on Supremacy. London: Houlston & Stoneman, 65 Paternoster Row. Price 2s. 6d.

has volunteered an attack upon my little essay. It is, however, only partial; for much ground that I covered has been left untouched. Even that assault, such as it is, appears to be any thing but successful. No position has been taken by the *enemy*, and the proofs which were standing *rank* and *file* are still without a scar. It is reasonable to suppose that arguments which are incased in panoply are not to be demolished by a mere explosion of powder, and that an ephemeral lucubration of some ninety pages is not likely to storm the citadel which has been defended by the erudition of the present and past ages. Besides, the designation under which the treatise is ushered into notice is singularly infelicitous. If, instead of "The Truth," it had been *dubbed* "The Falsehood about Rome," it certainly would have been more to the purpose. Time, however, presses, and forbids saying more at present. Still the right of giving a rejoinder remains, if such should afterwards be considered expedient or necessary.

Meanwhile let the object of attack be stated by the writer, who thus speaks:—"I find published in the present year (1851) a small pamphlet from the pen of the Rev. J. S. M'Corry, M. Ap. entitled, 'Was St Peter ever at Rome?' As *this inquiry* is the first absolutely necessary to be answered, before proceeding to any effects resulting from such a visit to the capital of the empire, I think I cannot do better than consider *this pamphlet as my guide to the assertions of the Romish Church on this whole subject.* We will therefore give the reader, in the words of its author, what he styles 'an unbroken chain of evidence, reaching back from our own days to apostolic times.' It will, however, not be necessary for us to trace the subject further than the establishment of supremacy."

The writer thereupon proceeds to the attack, and makes reference to the pamphlet in almost every suc-

ceeding page. Already has a reply been forthcoming, and *this before I was even aware of the existence of the "Treatise on Supremacy!"* The very Rev. Dr Husenbeth,[1] in a masterly dissertation, follows in the wake of the writer, and, in his own caustic and argumentative style, administers a very salutary chastisement. He has certainly anticipated much of what I might have said, and, no doubt has said it much better, still the unceremonious personality of attack might justly warrant me in inflicting a second castigation. *Ma vedremo.* A truce, however, to these *ambages*, and let us hasten on to the recording of that glorious line of supreme Pontiffs, which stands unparalleled in the history of the world.

First Century.

1. St Peter, Martyr.
St Linus, M.
St Anacletus or Cletus, M.
St Clement, M.

Second Century.

5. St Evaristus, M.
St Alexander, M.
St Sixtus I., M.
St Telesphorus, M.
St Hyginus, M.
10. St Pius I.
St Anicetus, M.
St Soter, M.
St Eleutherius, M.
St Victor I., M.
15. St Zephyrinus, M.

Third Century.

St Callistus, M.
St Urban I., M.
St Pontian, M.
St Antheros, M.
20. St Fabian, M.
St Cornelius, M.
St Lucius, M.
St Stephen I., M.
St Xystus II., M.
25. St Denys, M.
St Felix I., M.
St Eutychian.
St Cajus, M.
St Marcellinus, M.

Fourth Century.

30. St Marcellus I., M.
St Eusebius, M.
St Miltiades, M.
St Sylvester I.
St Mark.
35. St Julius.
St Liberius.
St Damasus I.
St Siricius.

[1] The Roman Question: A Refutation of a Treatise professing to be "The Truth about Rome," by F. C. Husenbeth, D.D. London: Burns & Lambert. Price 2s. 6d.

St Anastasius I.

Fifth Century.

St Innocent I.
St Zosimus.
St Boniface I.
St Celestine I.
St Sixtus III.
St Leo the Great.
St Hilary.
St Simplicius.
St Felix III.
St Gelasius I.
St Anastasius II.
St Symmachus.

Sixth Century.

St Hormisdas.
St John I.
St Felix IV.
St Boniface.
John II.
St Agapetus I.
St Sylverius.
Vigilius.
Pelagius I.
John III.
St Benedict.
Pelagius II.
St Gregory the Great.

Seventh Century.

Sabinian.
Boniface III.
St Boniface IV.
St Deusdedit I.
Boniface V.
Honorius I.
Severinus.
John IV.
Theodore.
St Martin.
St Eugenius I.
St Vitalian.
Adeodatus II.
Donus I.
St Agatho.
St Leo II.
St Benedict II.
John V.
Conon.
St Sergius I.

Eighth Century.

John VI.
John VII.
Sisinnius.
Constantine.
St Gregory II.
St Gregory III.
St Zacharias.
Stephen II.
Stephen III.
St Paul I.
Stephen IV.
Hadrian I.
St Leo III.

Ninth Century.

Stephen V.
St Paschal I.
Eugene II.
Valentine.
Gregory IV.
Sergius II.
St Leo IV.
Benedict III.
St Nicholas I.
Hadrian II.
John VIII.
Marinus.
Hadrian III.
Stephen VI.
Formosus.
Romanus.
Theodore II.
John IX.

Tenth Century.

Benedict IV.
Leo V.
Sergius III.
Anastasius III.
Lando.
John X.
Leo VI.
Stephen VIII.
John XI.
Leo VII.
Stephen IX.
Marinus II.
Agapetus II.
John XII.
Benedict V.
John XIII.
Benedict VI.

Donus.
Benedict VII.
John XIV.
John XV.[1] or XVI.
Gregory V.
Sylvester II.

Eleventh Century.

John XVII. or XVIII.
John XVIII. or XIX.
Sergius IV.
Benedict VIII.
John XIX. or XX.
Benedict IX.
Gregory VI.
Clement II.
Damasus II.
St Leo IX.
Victor II.
Stephen X.
Nicholas II.
St Alexander II.
St Gregory VII.
Victor III.
Urban II.

Twelfth Century.

Paschal II.
Gelasius II.
Callistus II.
Honorius II.
Innocent II.
Celestine II.
Lucius II.
Eugene III.
Anastasius IV.
Hadrian IV.
Alexander III.
Lucius III.
Urban III.
Gregory VIII.
Clement III.
Celestine III.

Thirteenth Century.

Innocent III.
Honorious III.
Gregory IX.
Celestine IV.
Innocent IV.
Alexander IV.
Urban IV.
Clement IV.
B. Gregory X.
Innocent V.
Hadrian V.
John XX. or XXI.
Nicholas III.
Martin II.
Honorius IV.
Nicholas IV.
St Celestine V.
Boniface VIII.

Fourteenth Century.

B. Benedict XI.
Clement V.
John XXI. or XXII.
B. Benedict XII.
Clement VI.
Innocent VI.
Urban V.
Gregory XI.
Urban VI.
Boniface IX.

Fifteenth Century.

Innocent VII.
Gregory XII.
Martin V.
Eugene IV.
Nicholas V.
Callistus III.
Pius II.
Paul II.
Sixtus IV.
Innocent VIII.
Alexander VI.

Sixteenth Century.

Pius III.
Julius II.
Leo X.
Adrian VI.
Clement VII
Paul III.
Julius III.
Marcellus II.
Paul IV.
Pius IV.
St Pius V.
Gregory XIII.
Sixtus V.

[1] Another John was elected, but died before consecration: hence a difference of reckoning.

Urban VII.
225. Gregory XIV.
Innocent IX.
Clement VIII.

Seventeenth Century.

Leo XI.
Paul V.
230. Gregory XV.
Urban VIII.
Innocent X.
Alexander VII.
Clement IX.
235. Clement X.
Innocent XI.
Alexander VIII.
Innocent XII.

Eighteenth Century.

Clement XI.
240. Innocent XIII.
Benedict XIII.
Clement XII.
Benedict XIV.
Clement XIII.
245. Clement XIV.
Pius VI.

Nineteenth Century.

Pius VII.
Leo XII.
Pius VIII.
250. Gregory XVI.
Pius IX.,

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